

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VII, (New Series), No. 307.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 23, 1914.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)

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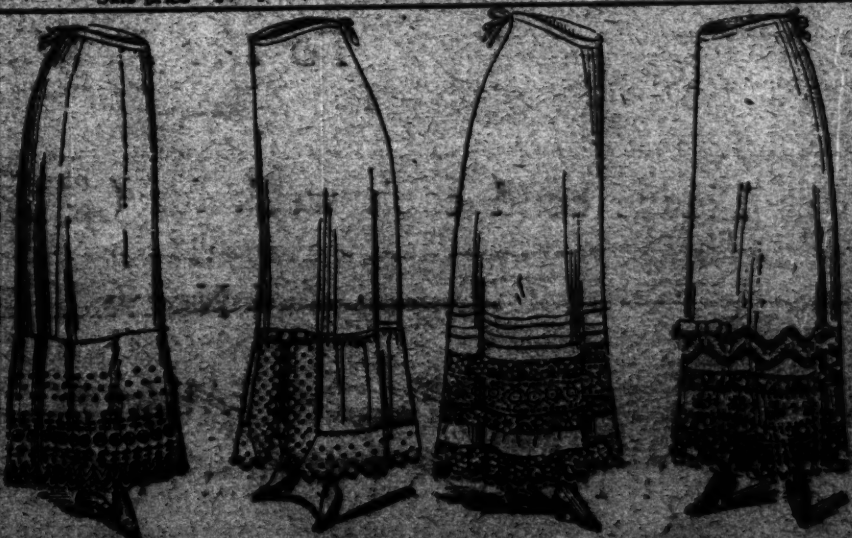
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the paper of

THE WHOLE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

Edited by

MR. & MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE LIBERAL DILEMMA



"HOW HAPPY COULD I BE WITH EITHER!"

(The Liberal Party are said to be torn with indecision as to whether to throw over the Anti-Suffragists or the Suffragists in their ranks.)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

There are persistent rumours of the retirement of Mr. Winston Churchill from the Cabinet over the question of the Navy Estimates. On the main issue it is not our business in this paper to take sides or express an opinion; but from the point of view of woman suffrage we should by no means regret the disappearance of this "promising" politician from a position of power and influence.

Mr. Churchill's Record

Mr. Churchill's record with regard to Votes for Women is about as bad as it can possibly be. In April, 1908, when he was standing as a candidate for North-West Manchester on his first entry into the Cabinet, he found that the question of woman suffrage was likely to play a prominent part in the contest. He declared himself a strong suffragist, saying:—

"I will try my best as and when occasion offers, because I do think sincerely that the women had always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women. It is no longer a movement of a few and excitable people, but a movement which is gradually spreading to all classes of women, and that being so, it assumes the same character as franchise movements have previously assumed."

In spite of this pronouncement he was opposed by the W.S.P.U. and by this paper, following out our consistent policy of opposing all Liberals as long as the Liberal Cabinet opposes the enfranchisement of

women. Largely owing to this effective campaign he was defeated.

"A Friend of the Movement"

From North-West Manchester he went to Dundee, and the very first meeting which he attended was one of women Liberals, to whom he again expressed his ardent support of the suffrage, saying that so far as he was personally concerned he was a friend of the movement, not one who dealt in words only, and promised glibly, and then, having given a vote, thought nothing more of it. On this occasion Mr. Churchill was successful, and has remained as member for Dundee up to the present time.

Put to the Test

In 1910 Mr. Churchill had the first opportunity of proving the character of his "friendship for the movement." The Conciliation Bill had been constructed by a Committee composed of members of Parliament drawn from all parties, and Mr. Churchill allowed Lord Lytton and the other members of the Committee to understand that he was favourable to the measure. Yet when the debate on the second reading took place he took the opportunity of denouncing it, and pouring contempt upon it. He still called himself a suffragist, but explained that the only form of woman suffrage which he would support would be either universal suffrage or the enfranchisement of women on a purely fancy basis, neither of which proposals, of course, had the remotest chance of passage into law.

Falsifying His Promises

Accordingly, he voted against the second reading in 1910, and absented himself from the division in 1911 on the Bill, which even Mr. Lloyd George was constrained to vote for, as it had an unrestricted title. In February, 1912, he wrote to the Women's Freedom League, saying that he should oppose the Conciliation Bill, and that the giving of the Parliamentary vote to seven or eight millions of women (the Dickinson proposal, supported by Mr. Lloyd George) was a step which the country was not prepared to take. He thus ranged himself definitely against woman suffrage in all its forms, betraying the women of Dundee and falsifying the promises made at his election.

The Events of Black Friday

But Mr. Churchill's record is black not solely on account of his attitude to woman suffrage itself, but

also on account of the brutal treatment to which women were subjected by the police during his tenure of the Home Office. In spite of his equivocating denials, in which he first said that he issued no instructions, and then that the instructions which he had issued were misunderstood, suffragists have ample reason for attributing to Mr. Churchill the events of Black Friday, November 18, 1910, when, for several hours, the police battered and wounded a great, peaceful deputation of women seeking admission to the House of Commons. To the events of that day belong the origin of the more violent militant methods which the revolutionary suffragists have since adopted.

Liberalism or Liberal Party

An attempt is being made in Coventry by a section of Liberals to get rid of their Liberal member, Mr. D. M. Mason, M.P., not because of his Liberalism, but because of his refusal to toe the line set by the present Cabinet. A statement was issued last week by the Advisory Committee of the local Liberal Executive that they had informed Mr. Mason of their intention to find another Liberal candidate for the next election. The publication of this statement by the Advisory Committee is, however, keenly resented by several members of the Executive; and a meeting of the whole body was being held on Thursday, after we went to press, to consider the situation.

Mr. Mason's Chief Offences

One of the most prominent of Mr. Mason's offences in the eyes of party Liberals is his attitude on the question of woman suffrage. In 1912 he made a speech in opposition to the first reading of the Government's Franchise Bill on the ground that women were left out. In the course of that speech, from which we quote extracts on page 250, Mr. Mason made it clear that he regarded the suggestion that the Bill could be amended so as to include women as an attempt to throw dust in their eyes. "If we," he said, "who believe in woman suffrage support the first reading of this Bill with the idea that we are going to amend it in Committee or later, we are a party to that which I regard as a dishonest proceeding." Mr. Mason also spoke and voted against the Cat and Mouse Bill in 1913.

Sir Harry Johnston and the Vote

We are glad to have the honour of providing the occasion for a pronouncement from Sir

Harry Johnston, the famous African explorer, on the subject of votes for women. Sir Harry Johnston, who feels very keenly on this question, and considers that all other attempts at reform will be one-sided and unjust so long as women remain unenfranchised, has kindly consented to speak at the meeting in the Kingsway Hall on Thursday, February 26, organised by the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. Another of the speakers will be Miss Lena Ashwell, the great actress, whose splendid championship of the cause of women has endeared her to the hearts of all who are fighting in this battle. Full particulars of the meeting will be found on pages 253 and 255.

Reminding Supporters of the Government

Several very effective "reminders" have been delivered during the week to members of Parliament who support the Government to the effect that they cannot be allowed to proclaim themselves reformers so long as they exclude women from participation in citizenship. Foremost among these "reminders" were the interruptions at Mr. John Burns's meeting at Streatham Town Hall last Monday. As usual, Mr. Burns took a leading part in arranging for the ejection of the men and women who protested, and it was not until he had worked himself and his audience up into a feverish state of excitement that he was able to proceed without further molestation. Another member of the Government who received the attention of a suffragist member of his audience was Mr. McKinnon Wood, who had a bag of flour thrown at him at a meeting in Edinburgh and was silenced for some time at Glasgow. Mr. Silvester Horne, Mr. Hogge, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Duncan, and others have also been reminded of their dereliction of duty.

Items of Interest

The Women's Social and Political Union propose to send a deputation to wait on the King in person shortly after the reassembling of Parliament.

Woman Suffrage is an item in the Government programme of Sweden, outlined in the King of Sweden's speech.

Municipal Suffrage has been extended to the married women in Toronto (Canada), only unmarried women and widows having been hitherto admitted to the municipal franchise there.

In Lancashire and Yorkshire some most effective VOTES FOR WOMEN Poster Parades have been carried out by the Fellows. To-night (Friday) the Fellows in Leeds are starting from the centre of the city at 6.30 with coloured lanterns. This example, we hope, may be followed in many other provincial towns.

An interesting debate on the Insurance Act, with particular reference to its injustice to women, took place last Monday at the Caxton Hall, Miss Douglas attacking it and Sir Victor Horsley attempting to defend it. On a vote being taken the result was an immense majority against the Act.

Sir Edward Carson, in his speech on Tuesday to the women of Ulster, spoke in very complimentary terms of their assistance and support, but made no allusion to the promise to co-opt women on to his "provisional Government." We recommend women to watch with careful attention developments of this proposal.

Our contents this week include the first of three interesting articles by Miss Hodge on the effect of the woman's vote in Australia and New Zealand, a further account of the debate on woman suffrage in the Reichstag, of which we gave a summary last week, and some striking examples of the comparative punishments meted out for offences against women and against property.

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WOMEN AND RED TAPE

By T. O'Hearn

Mr. Wells, in his latest novel, gives frank expression to that curious nightmare terror which appears to haunt the pillow of many otherwise sane social reformers. Boldly throwing biology overboard, he perceives in the female not the constructive but the destructive element of life; and before him rises a horrid vision of Man, with infinite labour, building up the mighty structure of the Great State, and Woman (with her little hatchet) coming along to "loot" it. Now, this might appear quite a natural delusion in the overwrought brain of a solitary caretaker left in charge of No. 10, Downing Street, upon a dark night; but coming from a man of Mr. Wells's keen and cultivated intelligence it is surely a trifle ludicrous. However, since there is no smoke without fire, it may be as well to examine the quaint idea a little more closely and see in what it originates.

Too Much Fuss about the Score

Now, Man is, and always has been, an essentially law-worshipping animal. Rules and regulations are as the breath of life to him; the thing becomes a monomania; he cannot be happy, even in his hours of relaxation, unless he is playing within the four corners of some strictly ordered game. But a woman plays an outdoor game primarily for the sake of the fresh air and exercise involved; an indoor game to amuse her babies (of all ages), and in her heart she considers all this fuss about the score just a wee bit childish. So with other and graver matters—the feminine soul resolutely refuses to be bound by red tape, and Woman will cause as much havoc and dismay at the Circumlocution Office* one fine morning as ever Miss Nightingale did at Whitehall. Much scorn and derision is heaped upon feminine logic by our Young Barnacles, because when Young Barnacle (or Old Barnacle) says, "This intolerable nuisance must continue," Woman asks "Why?" and when he says, "Because it is the Law," she asks "Why?" again.

It has always been recognised that Bernard Shaw and Ibsen are writers appealing peculiarly to women; yet they are very far from being exclusively "feminist" writers, as is sometimes ignorantly asserted—Hedda Gabler is quite as unflattering and merciless a portrait as Hjalmar Ekdal. Is it not rather because Ibsen's war upon the "ghosts" of dead and decaying customs and conventions, "floating up and down the columns of our newspapers" (ah, those newspapers!), is every woman's war; and Shaw's memorable epigram: "The golden rule is that there is no golden rule," sums up every woman's in-born philosophy? Yet it takes an exceptionally clever and original male thinker to reach this point of view, once in a century, perhaps; and when he gets there what a noise he makes about it, and how astounded are all the other men at his audacity! "Bless you, my little dear," says Woman; "you say it very nicely; but—"

"The mother that bore you (Mary, pity woman!), she knew it all before you." . . .

Women have proved themselves capable of enormous efforts of self-controlled discipline when the object is a worthy one; but that monstrous man-made idol of Law for Law's sake is one to which they never have bowed down and never will.

Solution of the "Eternal Feminine"

Already they submit very patiently to many most unnecessary restrictions, knowing these to be essential for the guidance of the weaker brother; and I believe it is just this tolerant outward conformity to certain of his rules, masking a most profound inward scepticism of which he catches occasional horrified glimpses, which makes the Eternal Feminine such an eternal puzzle to the masculine mind.

There is a charming story, which certainly ought to be true, of a rustic youth who rushed home one evening, hot and flushed, from the village debating society, crying, "Ma! What dost think? I'm a Naythel!" There was a chilly pause, and then his mother spoke:—"Well, lad, an' canna ye do it quietly?" That is the real difference; a man cannot be an atheist quietly.

If it is true that we are threatened by the iron-bound terrors of bureaucracy under the Servile State, then our only effective weapon lies in the hands of the women . . . if we would let them use it. If we would let them use it!

* See "Little Dorrit." By Charles Dickens.

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AN AMERICAN CARTOON



Reproduced with acknowledgments to the "Women's Political World."

The above cartoon depicts the Suffrage Situation in the United States, where, in the elections of November 1914, the fate of four more States will be decided by the Referendum. These will be Montana, with some four hundred thousand of population; Nevada with a sparse eighty thousand; North and South Dakota with a little over half-a-million each.

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

The most interesting factor in the suffrage situation in the United States at the present moment is undoubtedly the possible fate of the Federal Amendment in Congress, which seeks to solve the question in a national instead of a local manner. The following is the history of the Amendment since its first introduction:—

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, unanimous favourable report.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favour; three opposing.

September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demands immediate action.

Present Status:

In the Senate: Awaiting action.
In the House: Before the Judiciary Committee.

VICTORY FOR TORONTO WOMEN

By a majority of more than two to one, the men of Toronto recently voted in favour of extending the municipal franchise, hitherto held by widows and unmarried women only, to married women. In Vancouver and in Calgary this reform has already been effected, and it is hoped by Suffragists that it will not be long before wives are admitted to the municipal register in every town in the Dominion.

TAX RESISTING IN THE STATES

Dr. Anna Shaw Follows in the Footsteps of American Rebels

Dr. Anna K. Shaw, the well-known American Suffragist, has decided to become a tax-resister, and thus to emphasise afresh the great principle for the sake of which the American colonies fought, and won, the War of Independence.

Her refusal to pay her income tax, says the *Women's Journal*, recalls the fact that she comes of a tax-resisting family. Her

grandmother, an English widow, was a Nonconformist, and was opposed on principle to paying tithes for the Church of England. Regularly, whenever the tax was demanded, she refused to pay, and let her household goods be sold at auction in the street, while from her doorway she told the tax-collector what she thought of him!

"An Apostate Republic"

Dr. Anna Shaw has been telling the Republican tax-collector what she thinks of him in a letter issued by her in the States: "Here women may make their passive protest, and decline to aid the Government in levying taxes upon them by refusing to render an account of their property. In this manner we can show our loyalty to those who struggled to make this a free republic, and who laid down their lives in defence of the equal right of all free citizens to a voice in their own government. The time has come when we may utter again into the ears of an apostate republic the words of James Otis, that great champion of the liberties of the Colonists, when he wrote:—

"The very act of taxing those who are not represented appears to me to be depriving them of one of their most essential rights as free men, and if continued, seems to be, in effect, an entire disfranchisement of every civil right. For what one civil right is worth a rush after a man's property is subject to be taken from him at pleasure without his consent? If a man is not his own assessor, in person or by deputy, his liberty is gone, or he is entirely at the mercy of others."

Great Britain's "Robbery and Injustice"

"Or the still more emphatic words of Granville Sharp to the Parliament of Great Britain: "No tax can be levied without manifest robbery and injustice where this legal and constitutional right of representation is wanting, because English law abhors the idea of taking the least property from free men without their consent. It is iniquitous that free men should not have the free disposal of their own effects, and whatever is iniquitous can never be made lawful by any authority on earth, not even by the united authority of King, Lords, and Commons, for that would be contrary to the eternal laws of God, which are supreme."

Dr. Shaw concludes by calling for universal tax-resistance on the part of voteless women, who will thus prove themselves "worthy descendants of noble ancestors who counted no price too dear to pay in defence of liberty and equality and justice."

WOMEN AS FOOD INSPECTORS

In the Suffrage State of Washington women act as food inspectors in many towns; and, says a writer in the *Women's*

Journal who has recently been touring there: "To this fact mainly I attribute the notably advanced standards of food protection in those cities."

Only the other day a well-known American doctor, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, said that if there were no other argument for woman suffrage, the better enforcement of the pure food laws would be reason enough."

LABOUR AND THE WOMAN'S VOTE

The San Francisco Labour Council, at the annual Convention of the American Federation of Labour, moved a resolution, unanimously passed, vouching for the excellent results of the woman's vote in California, and reaffirming the belief of the Federation in the fundamental right of women to the ballot. The resolution pointed out that not only justice and fair dealing demand this great reform, but also the need for having the woman's aid on the side of "the forces striving for humane legislation and social justice."

The interests of Labour are very much the same all the world over, and it is important to have this unanimous expression of opinion from the Labour causes of America, which includes Canada, where women as yet are without the political vote.

PROGRESS IN THE STATES

Policewomen for New York?

In spite of a general inclination on the part of many newspapers to ignore the principal political issue of the day, significant items of suffrage news do creep into publicity now and then which show the way the wind is blowing. The *Daily Telegraph*, for instance, printed the following cable from its New York correspondent last Saturday:—

"American Suffragists are jubilant to-day:—

"1. Because Colorado has elected a woman, Mrs. Gertrude Lee, to be Chairman of the Democratic Party of the State—not quite unprecedented, however;—

"2. Because the Illinois Central Railroad proposes to replace male ticket collectors by women;—

"3. Because the Women's Prison Association of New York has every prospect of securing a Bill permitting women police officers; and—

"4. Because the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Railway report that the women cashiers at the stations are just as efficient, and more economical than men."

The New York Bill, adds the cablegram, provides for the appointment of twenty policewomen under the same conditions as men are appointed.

AN AMERICAN PRESS VIEW

The *Christian Science Monitor* (December 31) has a strong leading article on the "British Parliament and Women," which comments thus on Mr. Lloyd George's assertion that militancy had put back the cause of woman suffrage:—

It is to be hoped that his confession was merely a pious opinion, for whether female suffrage be right or wrong, it is by no means exhilarating to find a prominent politician with so little confidence in the vigour of the principles on which he has placed his trust. If such an outlier dictum means anything at all, it is the most complete justification of the accusation of breach of faith that any suffragette could desire, for it avows that the historic vote of the House in favour of the female Suffrage Bill was at once indiscreet and insincere.

The Mental Attitude of Parliament

The article goes on to say:—
Another member of the Ministerial party has also explained, quite recently, that whilst the House could be led to female suffrage it could not be driven. That explanation unveils the mental attitude of Parliament almost more unmercifully than the previous one. The attitude disclosed is the attitude which has been summed up as that of the Turk. It postulates the predicament that the vote is something which man has a moral right to grant or to withhold, and so begs the whole question at issue.

That Jumping Cat!

Yet a third supporter of the Government has stated, and this is the most remarkable admission of all, that a hundred women have jeopardized the claims of 7,000,000 voteless women. Such an argument reduces the action of the House to that of the famous and proverbial jumping cat. One wonders whether the action of a hundred ill-advised trade unionists would be regarded as vitiating the claims of 7,000,000 trade unionists with votes. . . . That the majority of the House, which has avowed publicly by its vote that the principle is just, should withhold the vote from 7,000,000 women because of the action of five score, is a problem as perplexing as it is unjustifiable, unless it is accepted on the basis of the "creed of the pious editor":—

"I don't believe in principle,
But oh, I do in interest."

LIBERALISM IN THE BALANCE

Liberal Member Censured for Opposing Government—Press Definitions of Liberalism—Opposition to Insurance Act—A True Liberal Elector

COVENTRY SENDS LIBERALISM TO COVENTRY

Mr. D. M. Mason, M.P., and Coventry Liberals

The question of Woman Suffrage, which has already shown signs of being in a fair way to split the Liberal Party, also enters into the difference that has arisen between Mr. D. M. Mason, M.P. for Coventry, and his Liberal Executive. It was announced in the papers on the 15th inst. that the Advisory Committee of that body had intimated to their Member that in consequence of the independent attitude he had taken up on various questions, they would advise the Executive of the party in Coventry to seek another candidate at the General Election. The Executive was to meet and arrive at a decision on the matter on Thursday, after we went to press.

Apart from the evidence thus afforded of the growing tendency to regard the Cabinet as all-powerful and the Private Member as "a parrot or a gramophone" (as the *Daily Citizen* puts it), a tendency which has had disastrous effects where Woman Suffrage is concerned, we are particularly interested in Mr. D. M. Mason's case because, as the *Times* admitted and as he himself subsequently stated in an interview, the failure of the present Government to remove the political disabilities of women was one of the questions on which Mr. Mason found himself at variance with the Cabinet, and on which he severely criticised their attitude.

His Suffrage Record

In Parliament Mr. Mason, who has sat in the House since December, 1910, voted last year for the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill, and also for that of the Dickinson Bill. He voted against both the Second and Third Reading of the Cat and Mouse Act; and, in 1912, strongly opposed the Franchise Bill on its introduction. The speeches he made on these two latter occasions are worth recalling, and we think our readers may like to have the following passages in them brought again to their notice.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH ON THE FRANCHISE BILL.

House of Commons, June 17, 1912

I rise to state that I shall oppose this Bill on the First Reading for the simple reason that women are left out of it. I think we are entitled to ask the Government which has introduced this Bill what are their intentions in introducing such a measure. I think hon. members will agree with me that the position is odd, in this introduction of a measure of so far-reaching a character, which, although many on these benches no doubt will support much of it in detail—the abolition of plural voting and so forth—does not deal with what, after all, is really the question before the country to-day. What is it, if men are really honest and sincere, they will consider the great question before the country at the present time? Surely there can be only one answer: that is, the question of Women's Suffrage. That is really the question that we all have in our mind, and that is the question which, if we are really honest and sincere, we would grapple with and face in any measure brought forward by any Government.

Criticism of the Prime Minister

The Prime Minister has stated very straightforwardly on many occasions that he is opposed to Women's Suffrage; that he regards it, or would regard it, as a menace to the State, and therefore he believes that it should not be introduced.

To allow a distinguished member of his own Government or of this House to propose an Amendment on that which he regards as a menace and something which is likely to be harmful to the State, is to ask us to regard him either as a fool or a knave. That is a self-evident proposition. I am sure the right hon. gentleman divides himself if he thinks that he can either throw dust in the eyes of members of this House or the people of this country in endeavouring to present this sort of double-shuffle of a Bill.

Criticism of Suffragist Ministers

Apparently because they are members of the Government they support the Bill. In logic that seems to me to be the most dishonest and most illogical. If they are to retain the support and trust of the country they must obviously either take their stand with the Government of the

day, that if the Franchise Bill is brought before us that Franchise Bill should include a provision for women; or, if they are unable to make their views prevail in the Cabinet, then they have a very clear alternative, that is, to cover their connection with any Government if a Government measure is persisted in which does not include Women's Suffrage.

His Own Position

If I am in favour of Woman's Suffrage and regard it sincerely and believe in it, surely I am entitled to go to the head of my Government and insist that it shall be inserted in any Franchise Bill that is brought in; particularly when everyone throughout the country knows that this question is a burning question. It is absurd to delude ourselves that this question of Woman's Suffrage is not within the sphere of practical politics. We have all discussed it in our constituencies, and we have had to deal with it in our election addresses. But they cannot expect us, those of us who believe in Women's Suffrage, to support the First Reading with the idea that we are going to amend it in Committee or later. If we admit the principle, and if we support the First Reading of this Bill, then we are a party to that which I regard as a dishonest proceeding.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH ON SECOND READING OF CAT AND MOUSE BILL.

House of Commons, April 2, 1913

We, as a House, have then surely to consider what is the cause that creates those persons who are undoubtedly determined to starve themselves to death if they are in prison for creating disorder. I think that brings one to the natural conclusion that we must go to the root of the evil. It is no use beating about the bush and thinking that this Bill, or any other Bill, or any number of Bills, will get rid of the trouble. You do not get rid of trouble by getting rid of the people temporarily.

The Root of the Evil

I submit you should go to the root of the cause which creates these martyrs. I think it is self-evident that the cause is that there is a denial of justice to those women, and that until you face that manfully and straightforwardly, and look into the cause of their injustice and of their distrust and of their distress, you will never be able to remedy the situation. Therefore I say that there is and can be only one remedy, and that is to grant the franchise to them.

They Should be Discharged

If food was provided for these women and if they purposely refused to take that food, then of course, under the Act of 1877, it became the duty of the Home Secretary, before they got into an extreme state, to discharge them.

PRESS OPINIONS

"Daily News"

The *Daily News* published a strong leading article on Thursday in last week on "Coventry and Democracy," in the course of which it says:—

"A Liberal member ought to be, and we imagine is, sent to Parliament by Liberal electors to advocate and realise Liberalism. That will normally mean to support a Liberal Government, but only so long as that Government is itself faithful in deed and word to Liberalism. Loyalty to Liberal principles is, therefore, the test which Liberals should apply to their members, and it is a test which they should apply to Liberal Ministers with the same ruthlessness. The mere fact that a member may, on certain issues, have differed from Ministers is no reason why he should forfeit the confidence of the electors. On each such occasion the electors must satisfy themselves that the Ministers and not the member were the more faithful to Liberal principles. The Committee of the Coventry Liberal Association seems to have taken the view that anything which Liberal Ministers happen to do or advocate is Liberalism, and that the whole duty of a good Liberal member is to go into the Lobby which the Liberal Whips indicate. This, as experience shows, is an absurd doctrine. It is worse; it is fatal to democracy. It gives the Cabinet absolute control over the party in Parliament, and the power to sentence at will any member to political extinction. No Cabinet ought to have such power. It is certain human nature and politics being what they are, to be abused. Liberalism and not the Cabinet ought to determine the fitness or unfitness of a man to represent Liberal principles. If Liberal Associations are to lay down obedience to Ministers as the one guiding rule for Liberal members, then all hope must be abandoned of emancipating Parliament from the excessive authority of the Cabinet, and democracy might just as well send in its resignation. That is the consideration which the Liberals of Coventry

should bear in mind before they ratify the decision of their Committee.

"Daily Citizen"

But of what use are rank-and-file members of Parliament if they may not hold opinions and express them, and criticize when the need arises, Ministers and Ministries? They might as well not be in Parliament at all.

Coventry Comments

In strong contrast to the above denunciations of the action of Mr. Mason's executive are the somewhat naive comments of the *Coventry Herald and Free Press*. In a leading article it says: "Save for special reasons, the eyes of the average constituency are turned, not towards members, but towards the Government. To Liberals or Conservatives, as the case may be, the support of the Government is the one thing needful. If choice has to be made between the Government and the local member, the local member will go to the wall."

Under the heading of "Local Notes and Gossip," the same paper prints the following striking condemnation of all Governments:—

"Obviously, no Government dependent, or largely dependent, on members of Mr. Mason's quality could live a month."

WOMEN AND THE INSURANCE ACT

How it Presses Hardly Upon Women

Opposition to the Insurance Act is a feature of the by-elections now in progress. An evidence of the growing public sense of the special injustice suffered by women under this Act was seen in the spontaneous condemnation of it on this ground, given by an audience largely composed of men, at the Carlton Hall last Monday, when a debate took place under the auspices of the Tax Resistance League, between Miss Margaret Douglas and Sir Victor Horsley. The following resolution was agreed to by an immense majority:—

"That this meeting declares that the Insurance Act is undemocratic in character and unjust in operation, and that its hardships press most heavily on women."

MISS MARGARET DOUGLAS

Miss Margaret Douglas made out an admirable case against the Act, showing how (1) The compulsory nature of the Act, and (2) The Insurance Card, made this the most undemocratic piece of legislation that had yet been introduced into this country. Further, the Act had substituted bureaucracy for self-government, setting up an army of officials costing the workers of the country the greater part of two millions of money a year.

Unjust to Women

In operation the Act was essentially unjust, especially to women. To begin with,

having framed their measure of so-called social reform, the Government left out the women who stay in their homes and look after the children, and work far harder than any man who goes out to work. Though this Government is always telling women that their place is the home, this Act encourages women to go out to work, because otherwise it does not recognise their existence.

Secondly, the main part of the economic burden of the Act (some twenty-six millions) falls upon the woman in the home who has to provide the fortnightly insurance tax out of the weekly budget, out of food, or boots, or clothes. Mr. Lloyd George had told the men of the country that it would cost them only the price of two glasses of beer to insure weekly under the Act. Have any public houses been closed, or even less frequented, asked Miss Douglas, since the Act was passed?

Thirdly, the tax of 3d. on the wages of employed women was far harder than that of 4d. on the men's, because women's wages are always lower than men's.

A Tax on Neighbourliness

Miss Douglas made a good point when she showed that the Act in its working was a tax on neighbourliness. In the old days, many a woman did a good turn to a neighbour and was paid perhaps the nominal sum of twopenny for doing it. Now this payment made the one woman an employer and the other an employed person with a card. This had actually happened in Buckinghamshire, where a bedridden woman had to do without the services of a neighbour on Mondays in order to avoid being her first "employer" in the week, and therefore having to stamp her insurance card for services remunerated by the large weekly sum of sixpence or eightpence! Before the poor woman hit on the plan of evading the Act, however, the Insurance inspectors had found her out and demanded the payment of all arrears, finally compounding for a lump sum of 13s., which had to be saved out of her husband's weekly wage of 14s.

SIR VICTOR HORSLEY

Sir Victor Horsley made out a very poor case for the Act, amid constant interruptions from an audience strongly opposed to him. He gave the impression of having strayed on to the wrong side of the controversy by accident, for he agreed wholeheartedly that voteless women suffered a great injustice in being compelled to submit to its provisions, and said he would have liked to move an amendment to the resolution, proposing that the Government should give women the vote, and then amend the Act with their help. His contention, a somewhat lame one, that under the Act woman had nevertheless obtained her economic recognition for the first time, produced later the witty retort from Miss Margaret Douglas that "the economic recognition of a compulsory reduction from our wages is the sort of economic recognition women have had too much of."

A TRUE LIBERAL

Famous Administrator Puts Suffrage First

Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., who has kindly consented to speak at the public meeting of the Votes for Women Fellowship on Thursday, February 26, is, of course, well known for his explorations in Portuguese West Africa and the Congo, and for his important geographical and scientific researches, as well as for his admirable administration of Uganda, where he acted as Special Commissioner, Commander-in-Chief, and Consul-General between 1899 and 1901.

As a Suffragist

As a Suffragist Sir Harry Johnston, a Liberal in politics, has proved his Liberalism to be genuine. In answer to a recent invitation to take part in a Liberal meeting, he wrote an emphatic letter of refusal, from which we are permitted to make the following extract:—

"I am only inclined to exert myself on behalf of a candidate who would put woman suffrage in the forefront of his programme. In fact, to enlist my sympathies, he must be a one subject man who, like myself, believes that all great national questions, all further reforms and changes in our legislation must be side-tracked, until arrangements have been made giving at any rate a proportion of women in this country the power to make their views felt in all these questions, in which they are to the full as much interested as are men, who possess the franchise. Without this settlement of the woman suffrage question all legislation is one-sided and

unfair. As soon as this matter is settled—and I sincerely hope that it may be settled by the Liberal Party—I shall resume my position as an active worker on behalf of Liberal movements in Imperial and national affairs."

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON AND THE FRANCHISE BILL

Our readers may remember a very stirring article written by Sir Harry Johnston on "The Franchise Bill and the Parliamentary Vote for Women," which appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* on July 15, 1912. In the course of it he wrote:—

"The Liberal party stands at the parting of the ways with this introduction of the Extended Franchise Bill, containing as yet no mention of women, no provision for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to the female half of the British population, either on the same terms as to men, or on terms somewhat more restricted, on account of the supposed greater proportion of females of full age who might qualify as voters. Not even if a hundred thousand women could be imprisoned for their conduct of a political agitation could this movement for female franchise be stopped. The movement for equal civic and State rights on the part of both sexes is as irresistible as the tide which Mr. Farlington—

—it ought now to be Mr. Farlington—tried to sweep out from her back yard."

NEW BOOKS

A SCHOOL BOOK*

"Sinister Street," we believe, started its career with an experience which might well tempt its author to re-name it "Right of Way." It fell under the censorship of the circulating libraries. Not, we venture to say, because it is in the least bit coarse, immoral, or "suggestive," but because it is unusual and breaks a convention of silence, which must be broken if we are to understand the most difficult and crucial years of youth—the age of puberty. The scope of the book, of which the present volume is but the first half, is sufficiently indicated by the quotation from Keats, which stands as preface.

The imagination of a boy is healthy, and the mature imagination of a man is healthy; but there is a space of life between in which the soul is in a ferment, the character undecided, the way of life uncertain.

It is with the ferment of this in-between period that the book largely deals, and the author gives an honest but by no means a brazen-faced record of some of the transitional phenomena in the school-life of a boy of sensitive and imaginative nature.

Readers of Mr. Compton Mackenzie's "Carnival," will not need to be told that he is a writer full of interest, independence, and originality. As for the ban which has been temporarily laid in the book-market upon this his latest work, we may be pretty certain that were "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel" produced to-day by a comparatively new writer, it would fall under the discreet censure of the circulating libraries. New knowledge is always horrific to the Grundies of every age; but its shock is chiefly felt by those whose policy is concealment; it does no harm to those who hold that by knowledge comes understanding. L. H.

"THE BRAT"

"The Brat" is hardly a pretty title, but the story to which Mrs. Penrose has given that name is emphatically a pretty one. It is somewhat old-fashioned, in that it is sentimental rather than realistic or imaginative, and that, ending happily, the happiness is brought about by a constancy hardly to be counted upon, and manœuvres barely likely to be successful, in real life. The Brat is an *enfant terrible* of the deepest dye, with a brother and sister of like tendencies to his own, and the three lead the unfortunate governess, who is the heroine of the book, a life which is not worth living. When the mother of the tormentors discovers what is going on, and discovers also a love tragedy in Miss Watford's past, she promptly begins to play the part of a benevolent fairy, and, aided by the machinations of the unwitting Brat, whose evil intentions bring about the most fortunate results, turns the tragedy into a comedy which brings balm both to heroine and reader. G.

"BELOW STAIRS"

Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick has the gift of telling a story, and her stories are always interesting. Her latest heroine begins life as a drudge, rises to the rank of a "tweeny," and finishes as a smart parlourmaid engaged to a highly desirable young tradesman. She has a romance, more dazzlingly sweet than can be furnished by any tradesman, however respectable, however affectionate, however comfortably off; but it is romance which is never made tangible by any possibility of hope, romance as elusive as the desire of the moth for the star, romance which hardly attains the form even of a dream. The attraction of the gentleman *chef*, for the little "tweeny" can be felt, and only his unconsciousness of it makes his kindness possible; but the infatuation of Fräulein is more difficult to account for and less ably presented. Indeed, in this book Mrs. Sidgwick's work is more unequal, her touch less sure than in most of the stories she has given us, notably in her studies of German life and character. Her German men and women we feel to be true to the life; we are never quite sure whether the attitude and opinions of Priscilla Day and her kitchen companions represent life as it really exists below stairs or life as it might be supposed to exist, studied from above. G.

FUTURE FATHERS!

There is, happily, a new spirit abroad which demands that boys should be educated with a view to becoming fathers in the future, just as much as girls are educated with a view to becoming mothers some day. Parents and teachers of boys, who take an enlightened view of their own responsibility in the matter, should unhesitatingly buy and read Ennis

Richmond's little pamphlet—"The White Slave Traffic—An Explanation for Boys," which puts the case with extreme simplicity and directness, and should prove a really useful guide both for parents and the boys themselves.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

In spite of the extreme cold, some of our sellers have stuck to their posts and been rewarded by introducing the paper into unexpected hands; for strangers to the cause have bought out of admiration for their pluck. Will not others come forward and save them from standing quite so long at a time? Many hands lighten the work.

Of course, workers are unavoidably called away from time to time; but whenever possible, they are asked to make an effort, as a point of honour, to supply deputies.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Making of an Englishman." By W. L. George. (London: Constable. Price 6s.)

"Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist." By Alexander Bergman. (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association. Price \$1.50.)

"The Marie-Tempest Birthday Book." With an Introductory Appreciation by Sidney Dark. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 1s. 6d. net.)

"The Progress Book." By J. J. Pilley, Ph. D. (London: Leadenhall Press. Price 1s. 6d.)

"Woman at Home," February. (London: 8, Southampton Street. Price 6d. net.)

"Anarchism." Price 10 cents; "The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation." 5 cents; "Syndicalism," price 5 cents, by Emma Goldman. (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association.)

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*"The Brat." By Mrs. H. H. Penrose. (Mills and Boon. Price 6s.)

*"Below Stairs." By Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick. (Methuen. Price 6s.)

*"The White Slave Traffic—An Explanation for Boys." By Ennis Richmond. (Women's Printing Society, Ltd., Brick Street, Piccadilly, W. Price 6d.)

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 23, 1914.

THE DESTRUCTION OF DEMOCRACY

The Advisory Committee of the Executive of the Coventry Liberal Association have informed Mr. David M. Mason, the Parliamentary representative for Coventry, that he would not be accepted as a candidate for that constituency at the next general election. Mr. Mason's offence is that though in general he has given adherence to the Government and its measures, in certain grave matters, where he felt vital principles of democracy were at stake, he has dared to defend these principles by his voice and by his vote, and in so doing has found himself at cross purposes with some of the Ministers of the present Cabinet.

In 1912 he ventured to withstand the Prime Minister when the Franchise Reform Bill was introduced, because of the exclusion of women from its provisions. He voted against the Home Secretary's infamous Cat and Mouse Act. In the name of Liberalism, he even dared publicly in the House to address an appeal to both these gentlemen, and to remind them that they were trustees for the liberty of the people. It is for these offences that he has fallen under the official ban. His latest protest against the proposed increased expenditure on the Navy has supplied the final excuse for his political excommunication at the hands of the Party wire-pullers, but his real sin is that he has, unlike the overwhelming majority of Liberal members of Parliament, refused at the bidding of Mr. Asquith to tamper with his belief in the justice and necessity of Votes for Women.

For such a man there is in the opinion of Liberal officials no place in the House of Commons, and they are determined to make an example of him by cutting short his career as a Parliamentary politician. It remains to be seen whether the rank and file of the Liberal Executive in Coventry will allow this high-handed suppression of all sense of public honour and political conscience in the private member of Parliament. If they do a new stage will be completed in the degradation of the House of Commons and in the enslavement of democracy.

This danger is felt even by Liberals themselves, and the *Daily News*, in a leading article, which is reproduced on another page, goes so far as to say that if obedience to Ministers is to be the one guiding rule for Liberal members, then "democracy might just as well send in its resignation." We commend this just comment upon the situation to the serious attention of our readers.

The event supplies the corroboration of fact for all that VOTES FOR WOMEN has been saying for the last six years with regard to the rapidly-vanishing power of the private member of Parliament. It supplies a plain and unchallengeable justification of the policy pursued by suffragists since 1905 of ignoring the private member as an impotent individual, and of concentrating every ounce of political pressure at their command upon a Government which wields over every member of its Party the power of political life and death.

This is the first time that the wire-pullers of the Party have ventured upon an open policy of undisguised retaliation. It is the isolated and exceptional

position of Mr. Mason that makes such an attack possible. Members of Parliament, speaking generally, have succumbed to least direct methods of pressure. They have accepted their own extinction and have delivered over their conscience into the keeping of the Party Whips without a struggle, receiving in return in various ways those rewards of obedience which a ruling Government has the power to bestow. They no longer represent anything except counters to be manipulated in the Party game.

To understand the significance of this situation is to understand the significance of the suffrage campaign of the last eight years. Again and again we have been challenged with regard to our policy of militant opposition to the Government in power. Suffragist friends in other countries, and especially in the United States of America, have pointed to the recent victories obtained by women in pursuance of conciliatory and constitutional methods, and have questioned in well-meaning seriousness the wisdom of our fighting tactics. Our answer is that the militant policy of suffragists here has been and is dictated solely by the special political circumstances that are of practically recent growth in this country. We have been driven to political militancy by the failure of the Party system, by the decay of constitutional Government, by the suppression of the private member, by the nullification of the House of Commons as a legislative assembly, and by the virtual extinction of democracy. In the United States of America the representation of the people is still a fact and the will of the people a reality. In many of the States the voters possess not only the power of the Referendum, but the right of direct initiative in legislation. Their representatives are men of independence. In such circumstances reformers have only to convince the people of the necessity and urgency of their cause in order to secure its triumph.

But in this country the people are being gradually and steadily deprived of every vestige of real power, they have already fallen blindfold into the hand of an oligarchy posing as a democracy, and they become every day more impotent and more entangled. By two methods are a mere handful of men becoming all powerful. One is the method of secret understanding and agreement between the two great Parties. The battle between Conservatives and Liberals is to a very large extent merely a sham fight, and is carried on by the leaders of both parties with the deliberate object of throwing dust in the eyes of the people and securing for themselves in turn a due share of place and power and emolument. The Government and the front opposition bench, through one or two representatives, agree beforehand as to what issues they shall fight about, and as to what issues shall be by mutual agreement kept altogether outside the sphere of public discussion.

Woman suffrage is an illustration of the way any political subject not favourable to these self-appointed arbiters of the nation's destiny can be indefinitely banked. By pledging themselves mutually to be silent with regard to this matter, the wire-pullers of both Parties have agreed to prevent the question from coming before the electors at all as a general election issue. Thus mutually insured against pressure of a Party kind, half-a-dozen men can entrench themselves against public opinion and hold out indefinitely against any reform which is distasteful to them in the hope of eventually starving out and exhausting the reformers. The electors of the country have no power as voters that they can put into operation in order to break down this boycott, and force either Party to face the issue.

The possible danger to this kind of collusion in the past lay in the power of independent action which the elected representatives of the people to some extent possessed. Hence the second method: bit by bit this power of action has been taken away, and the private member has been reduced to a shadow. The clever manipulators of the democratic machine have at last come to the point of openly declaring that they have no use for any independent conscience or opinion.

Nothing can break down the conspiracy of opposition entered into by the leaders of both Parties, except the application of severe pressure upon one of them. Suffragists having recognised the position, have determined to exercise that pressure upon the Party in power, and to declare strenuous opposition to every Government that refuses to give women the vote. Nobody in the country is willing, no one is able to fight the women's battle except women themselves. And they do not hesitate to wage relentless opposition to an unscrupulous oligarchy that has stifled the voice of the people, that has enslaved its elected representatives, and that has killed democracy in this country in everything but name.

THE EFFECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AUSTRALIA

By Margaret Hodge

Part I.—"The Use of the Vote"

Travellers' tales are proverbial for misrepresentation and globe-trotters' impressions are generally untrustworthy. I must, therefore, refer my readers to the last number of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, which contains the interview giving my credentials to speak with authority upon the subject of this article.

It is quite a common experience to hear from Anti-Suffragists that the vote has made no difference to the women of Australia, although they manage to insinuate, rather illogically, that the enfranchisement of the more moral sex has tended somewhat to lower the tone of morality. At an outdoor meeting, under the shadow of York Minster, a woman called out to me after I had spoken upon the subject of this paper—"I've a friend in Sydney, and she says no respectable woman ever thinks of going to the polls." As at the last Federal election (May 31, 1913) 71½ per cent. of the women voted, the statement of "the friend" may be pronounced a slander on the sex!

Percentage of Women Voting

The most striking effect of the woman's vote has been the steady upgrowth of a sense of political responsibility in both sexes. Twenty years ago the public holiday on election day was regarded by many of the voters as an opportunity for recreation and amusement; they would occupy it in long fishing excursions, with never a thought of their duties to the State. Since the women have entered into the heritage of full citizenship, a change has come over the electorate, and much fuller polls are recorded. Of course, in a country where the population is scattered over an immense area, and where travelling is exceedingly difficult, the guardian of the home and the children is often unable to go to the polls; this accounts for the fact that the percentage of women voting in the country districts is smaller than that of men; in the towns the percentage of women is often the larger, and this was noticeably the case in South Brisbane, where the women secured the return of the Liberal candidate. The following table will successfully refute the oft-repeated assertion that women are regardless of their political responsibilities, and also that far from relaxing in their energies, as time goes on they show themselves more eager, at each successive election, to avail themselves of the privilege of the vote.

FEDERAL ELECTIONS TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Percentage of Those Who Recorded Their Votes

Date	Males	Females	Total
1903	56.47	43.50	50.27
1906	57.38	44.81	51.48
1910	68.12	56.93	62.80
1913	78.22	71.54	74.88

These figures speak for themselves, and are an exceedingly creditable record in a new country, where, in many cases, the polls are remote from the homestead, where some of the roads are mere tracks, and where the climate is occasionally exceedingly trying. So strong is the desire to promote this sense of responsibility in men and women, that a fine of £2 has been imposed on anyone of either sex who, within the first six months of residence, fails to enrol himself as an elector for the Commonwealth Parliament. Rumour has it that a British suffragette, who had suffered much for her cause in England, was ignorant of this law, and, arriving in Australia in a very bad state of health, she failed to ascertain and comply with it, and so had to pay the fine. Two German girls absolutely refused to enrol their names, as they said "The Kaiser would cut our hands off if we recorded a vote." Luckily for them, it was discovered that they were not naturalised, so they escaped payment. Every voter is allowed to record his vote for the Federal Parliament at any polling booth throughout the Commonwealth, so that, unless he has left the country, he has no excuse for failing to vote. A suggested punishment for a defaulting voter is that he should be disfranchised after failing to record his vote for three consecutive elections, but this has not yet been made law. Increased political interest and growth of political energy are no small gains to the community, and there is no doubt that the woman's vote and the value she sets upon it are largely responsible for the transformation of many an Australian man from a lethargic grumbler at

existing conditions, to an active participator in the gravest concerns of the Commonwealth.

Moral Results of the Woman's Vote

The change in the character of the men elected, the steady upgrowth of a higher standard of morality, the influx of ideals into the legislature of the country are other beneficial results of the woman's vote. Women have again and again shown that they are ready to sacrifice party to principle, and have supported men of high character, regardless of their special political views.

Women, as irresponsible politicians, are ardent partisans. Addison shows this in his description of the Whig ladies throwing cups of tea over the best gowns of their Tory opponents! In modern times, what more garbled and exaggerated stories, what grosser misrepresentations can be dreamt of than those promulgated by women canvassers? But once they become responsible citizens, they are gravely judicial in pronouncements and far less swayed by sentimental considerations than men. One candidate for Parliament, who appealed to the "sentimental" feelings of his female constituents, hoping thus to secure their votes, had plenty of leisure after his failure to obtain the seat in which to meditate upon his mistaken estimate of "the sex." But that eighteenth century expression, with its peculiar connotation, has ceased to convey any meaning in a land of enfranchised women. Politicians have begun to realise that they must take neither a man's nor a woman's point of view, but a human one, for their electors are human beings, and must be appealed to as such. This attitude of mind they strive to acquire by constant appeals to the "ladies" at their meetings, imploring them to ask questions so as to gain an insight into their opinions, and by the hospitable reception of and the hearty welcome to women's deputations. It is most instructive to see how rapidly candidates for political honours are learning to adapt themselves to the new state of things; even the Anti-Suffrage members of former times are extravagant in their expressions of delight when many women are present at their meetings, and show infinite patience in endeavouring to conciliate the members of a sex that they once thought unfit for any political power.

The Human Point of View

The human point of view filters through from the legislature to the judiciary. "We are not governed primarily by laws, but by public opinion," as Sydney Smith says, and the interpreters of the law have to keep their fingers constantly upon that exceedingly capricious pulse. In Australia women are an important factor in the making of public opinion, and so we find the interpretation of the law upon all questions affecting sex to be much more impartial, and the punishment for such crimes as indecent or criminal assault to be much more severe. There is now in Sydney a man lying in prison under sentence of death for the latter crime, and a short while ago a criminal of this type had the capital sentence commuted to imprisonment for life. Last August, in New South Wales, I was asked to speak on behalf of a young man, whose crime was more properly manslaughter than murder, but who had been condemned to undergo the extreme penalty of the law. The boy, for he was little more, was quite friendless, and in a sudden fit of melancholy he had killed his sweetheart and tried to kill himself.

"Do speak for us," the Secretary of the Committee of Mercy urged me. "You see, it was a woman who suffered, and it seems so heartless for us men to ask for mercy on the culprit."

I spoke, as did one or two other women, and we at once secured a monster petition, and his sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life.

Effect on the Press

The Press, too, which panders to the public rather than attempts to educate it, has wholly altered its attitude to women since they have been enfranchised.

From 1897 to 1903 the Political and Educational League, a woman's suffrage association, of which I was Vice-President, could never obtain any but the scantiest notice of its meetings in the papers in which it advertised. The moment we were enfranchised we could easily command columns for our speeches. Women suddenly assumed an extraordinary importance. Leading articles were devoted to expatiating on our dignity and gravity in proceeding to the polls, and the businesslike capacity which we showed in

recording our votes. A moving picture was drawn of the aged, grey-haired mother, leaning on her son's arm for support, as she wended her way to the polling booth, while the young married couple, going forth eagerly and harmoniously to perform their duties as citizens, were vividly portrayed. These life sketches appeared in a paper that but a few months before had done its best to kill, by ridicule and contempt, the very movement which was to result in such a happy transformation.

Yes, transformation is, indeed, the right word. Anyone who witnessed the elections in the States of Australia before the women had the vote and contrasted these with those subsequent to that event would realise that it was so. The calm, quiet, orderly procession of men and women, the latter often carrying babies, or with children clinging to their skirts, is a pleasure to witness. The Anti-Suffragists need be under no apprehension as to a woman's capacity for recording her vote. At the Federal election of May 31, 1913, there were ten crosses to make, three for the Senate, one for the House of Representatives, and six against the "Yes" or "No" of the Referendum questions. Yet there were very few spoilt voting papers. One man did tell me that his wife had made a hopeless muddle of her paper, though she was an intelligent woman. It turned out, however, that she had only voted for the candidate he disapproved of, and not, as I at first thought, spoilt her paper. Polling day always seemed to me a delightfully family affair, as the little children used to accompany their father and mother on their way to vote. They often came into our kindergarten and told us about their expeditions. Surely this is the best possible training in citizenship for the little ones, and an admirable object lesson in the co-operation of the sexes. The fact that the public-houses are all closed on polling day from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. since the women have been enfranchised, ensures sobriety, for when these open in the evening the people are much too absorbed in the declaration of the polls to waste time in partaking of refreshment.

GREAT MEETING

Sir Harry Johnston to Speak

Preparations are proceeding apace for the special meeting of the *VOTES FOR WOMEN* Fellowship, to be held in the Kingsway Hall on Thursday evening, February 26, at 8 p.m.

Sir Harry Johnston, the famous African explorer, recently Special Commissioner for Uganda, has kindly promised to be present and to take the opportunity of making a public declaration of his strong support of the enfranchisement of women.

Miss Lena Ashwell

Miss Lena Ashwell, the great actress, who has on many occasions taken part in advocating the cause of women, will also address the meeting.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and other speakers will be announced in due course.

Tickets

The meeting is open to the public, and early application for tickets should be made to The Ticket Secretary, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. Prices, which have been slightly differently arranged from the last occasion, are as follows:—Front central stalls and balcony, all numbered and reserved, 2s. 6d.; other numbered and reserved stalls or balcony, 1s.; unreserved seats in stalls or balcony, 6d. The tickets are now ready.

Handbills and Posters

Handbills, in the colours, advertising the meeting are in course of preparation, and will be ready on Monday next. Fellows and others are invited to take a parcel of them for circularising their friends. These will be sent free, on application to the Ticket Secretary.

Posters will also be issued shortly, in the colours, announcing the meeting and the speakers.

FELLOWSHIP LITERATURE

Mr. Pethick Lawrence's pamphlet, "Women's Votes and Wages," will be ready on Monday next, and can be obtained from The Business Secretary, *VOTES FOR WOMEN* Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., price 1d. The Business Secretary can also supply copies of the leaflets by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence:—(1) An open letter to the electors, entitled "The Sheep that Defied the Dog," and (2) an open letter to the Bishop of London, entitled "Let Us Pray for the Church Non-Militant," price 1s. a hundred, 7s. 6d. a thousand, post free.

The Hon. Secretary of the Suffrage First Committee, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., supplies copies of the leaflet, "Is the Law Unjust to Women?" by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, at the same price.

HECKLING THE COALITION

Suffragists Everywhere—Uproar at Mr. Burns's Meeting—Flour Thrown at Mr. McKinnon Wood—Private Members Interrupted

MR. JOHN BURNS AT STREATHAM

Mr. John Burns was vigorously interrupted by Suffragists when he tried to speak at Streatham Town Hall last Monday evening. Both men and women reminded him that Suffragists are being tortured in prison, and again and again Mr. Burns made the usual answer of the Government to such reminders by ordering that the interrupters should be ejected. He even pointed out to the stewards those whom he wished put out of the meeting, and indicated the doors by which their exit should be made. As on former occasions, the President of the Local Government Board entirely lost control of himself, raced up and down the platform, and shouted himself hoarse in his efforts to drown the questions he could not answer and the applause of those in the audience who supported the plucky hecklers. For a long time the meeting was entirely suspended, while the stewards tried in vain to dislodge men and women who were defended by the people around them against the furious onslaught of the ejectors.

AN INTERRUPTER'S ACCOUNT

The following account, sent us by one of the ejected, shows the peculiarly offensive character of Mr. Burns's remarks to the women who interrupted him.

(From a Correspondent)

According to the *Daily Express*, Mr. Burns was in his element on Monday night, when, it states, "Officially he was addressing a meeting organised by the Streatham Liberal Club, at the Streatham Town Hall, but in reality he was the energetic superintendent of the 'chuckers-out' who were kept busy throughout his speech dealing with noisy and irrepressible Suffragettes."

In introducing the speaker, the chairman said that it had once been Mr. Burns's duty to conduct an Eastern potentate round Battersea, and that, as he and the dusky gentleman were passing along the streets two small boys noticed them, and one said to the other: "That's John Burns." "Which?" asked his companion. Had the small boy been at the Streatham Town Hall on Monday, his doubts would have seemed eminently reasonable. A witch doctor might have envied the special gifts of the President of the Local Government Board as he danced about the platform shouting, "Look at me! Look at me!"

Hardly had Mr. Burns commenced speaking when women rose in different parts of the hall and asked why the Government tortured women. They were removed from the hall, Mr. Burns watching their exit with profound joy. No sooner had quiet been restored than another woman interrupted.

"Now, my girl!" shouted Mr. Burns, pushing aside the chairman—(huge laughter from the Liberal stalwarts at this neat specimen of the right honourable gentleman's wit)—"if you don't stop that—" As the woman refused to be silenced, he turned to the stewards and said: "Ask that girl to go out, and take the next one with her as well. And the next one," he added, as she also rose to protest.

A Good Interjection

After these interrupters had been ejected, Mr. Burns was allowed just time to get into his stride, and, in reviewing the Government's record, had reached the words, "critical problems which can only be solved," when the sentence was finished for him by a man in the front of the hall, who exclaimed "By giving women the vote." "Out with him!" ordered Mr. Burns, and personally directed the operations of the dozen stewards who tackled the task. But this was easier said than done, for the man was sitting with two sympathisers, and they all three tightly grasped the row of chairs in front of them. The three ladies who were also seated in this row of chairs were somewhat surprised to find themselves being pulled violently to and fro under Mr. Burns's very nose. "This way!" said he, pointing to the nearest door, and, quite regardless of the fact that the ladies had paid for their seats, added, "Take the chairs as well!"

In the end numbers prevailed, but not before the audience in the orchestra and the whole front of the hall had been scattered to the winds. A loud banging on the door from outside once more interrupted Mr. Burns's oration, and showed that the men, though somewhat torn and bruised, were still unconquered.

From this time onwards, the speaker was frequently interrupted until the end of the

meeting, one man being carried the length of the corridor and thrown on to the road outside.

MR. MCKINNON WOOD AT EDINBURGH

The Secretary for Scotland, when opening a new higher grade school at Edinburgh last Monday, was also reminded of his responsibility, as a member of the Cabinet, for the forcible feeding of women now in prison.

As Mr. McKinnon Wood rose to speak, a woman near the platform stepped forward and hurled a bag of flour at him. It struck the chairman, burst, and covered both him and the Secretary for Scotland with flour. The woman is said to have had a second bag, but she was ejected before she was able to throw it.

The speaker then addressed the meeting, apologising for appearing before "a fastidious Edinburgh audience" in such a condition.

He does not seem to have apologised for retaining his seat in a Cabinet that orders women to be tortured in prison sooner than give them the vote.

AT GLASGOW

At Glasgow last Tuesday evening Mr. McKinnon Wood was very severely heckled by Suffragists and others when addressing his constituents. Two men were ejected, but quiet was not restored. The speaker was booed for quite ten minutes, says one account, and at the end of the meeting there was considerable doubt as to whether a vote of confidence in him was not negatived.

MR. HENDERSON, M.P., AT GLASGOW

Speaking at the opening of the Labour Party campaign at Glasgow last Monday, Mr. Henderson, M.P., was considerably interrupted by Suffragists in the audience. He remarked upon the fact that the Suffragists chose to interrupt those who had fought hardest for the woman's cause, upon which a woman called out: "What about the 'Cat and Mouse' Act? You voted for it!"

Mr. Henderson said he did, and that he would vote for it again. The reason he had voted for the "Cat and Mouse" Act was because he abhorred forcible feeding.

At this there were loud cries of "Why did you not protest against it at the time?"

Further disorder took place, and the chairman intervened, whereupon a man in the audience said he would have no more of the chairman's impertinence. This led to much uproar, and amidst considerable excitement the man was forcibly ejected. At this a number of Suffragettes rose from their seats and left the building as a protest, shouting loudly as they did so.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P., AT BLACKBURN

When Mr. Philip Snowden tried to address a crowded meeting at Blackburn last Tuesday, there were many interruptions from Suffragists, both men and women, who wanted to know why he stayed in a party that supported the Government in its treatment of Suffragists in prison. Several were ejected, some of them with the chairs on which they remained their hold.

MR. J. M. HOGGE, M.P., AT EDINBURGH

Three men interrupted Mr. J. M. Hogge, member for East Edinburgh, last Sunday afternoon, when he was delivering an address on "The Gambling Mania" in the Kirk Memorial Church.

"Why do you gamble with women's lives?" asked one member of the congregation. And: "Why do you torture women?" added another.

The second interrupter was ejected amid considerable uproar, many of those present resenting his being treated in this manner.

Two others, who heckled Mr. Hogge later, left of their own accord after making their protest.

THE REV. C. SILVESTER HORNE, M.P.

Really, these Liberals seem incapable of reconciling theory and practice, or rather of seeing that there should be any kind of relation between the two!

The Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.P., was lecturing at Aberdeen University last Sunday on the Christian ideal of justice, when a woman rose and said: "How dare you come here and talk about justice, you a member of the House of Commons, where justice is denied to women?" As she refused to desist she was forcibly removed.

But why was her question left unanswered?

MR. CHARLES DUNCAN, M.P., AT HAMPSHIRE

Speaking on the Extremes of Poverty and Wealth at a meeting of the Fabian Society held at Hantsstead last week, Mr. Charles Duncan, M.P., was subjected to considerable interruption by Suffragists. Naturally, such a subject would provoke interjections from women who feel that great economic problems of this sort can never be solved without their help.

DEFYING THE GOVERNMENT

Proposed Deputation to the King—Princess and Doctor Refuse to Pay Taxes—Shameful Treatment of Suffragist Prisoners

IN THE COURTS

Wednesday, January 14.—At the Old Bailey, application granted for the postponement *sine die* of the case of Miss Lillian Lenton, for firing a tea pavilion. Miss Lenton was released on licence, and is now "missing."

Thursday, January 15.—At the East Ham Police Court, before Mr. Grubbe, summoned for non-payment of National Insurance Act contributions in respect of a domestic servant, Dr. Katherine Heanley, fine and costs imposed, £2 12s. in all.

Saturday, January 17.—At the Chertsey Town Hall, charged with firing Lady White's house last March, Miss Phyllis Brady, committed for trial, in custody.

DEPUTATION TO THE KING

At the W.S.P.U. meeting at the Knightsbridge Hall last Monday afternoon, Mrs. Dore Fox appealed to all who could possibly do so to send in their names to join the Deputation which was to go to the King. Anyone who wished could call at Lincoln's Inn House, and would be there given particulars. In the meanwhile, she said it was not the W.S.P.U. who were responsible for drawing the King into the struggle, but his Ministers. The W.S.P.U. were now going to the King because he represented both men and women, which his Ministers did not. The Deputation was to be as large as possible, and the message asking the King to receive it would not be sent until Parliament had assembled, as it was considered best that Parliament should be sitting at the time. The Deputation wished to see the King at Buckingham Palace. Although the W.S.P.U. did not for a moment anticipate any difficulty about their reception, still they were prepared for any contingency.

TAX RESISTANCE

Distrain has been levied upon the goods of Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, of Farnham House, Hampton. The Princess had refused to pay licences for keeping a man-servant, a car, and two dogs (see *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, January 2), and had also refused to pay the fines imposed upon her for this by the Feltham magistrates. A pearl necklace and a gold bangle studded with pearls and diamonds have been seized, and will be sold by auction next Monday afternoon at Twickenham Town Hall.

Dr. Heanley was summoned at the East Ham Police Court on January 15 for non-payment of the Insurance tax for her servant. The magistrate was sympathetic with her protest. A fine of £1 and 10s. costs was imposed, in addition to the arrears.

THE BURNING OF LADY WHITE'S HOUSE

At the Chertsey Town Hall on January 17 Miss Phyllis Brady was charged with having "set fire to a certain house, in the possession of Lady White, with intent thereby to injure Lady White." The hearing lasted for five hours, and at its close Miss Brady was committed, in custody, to trial at the Surrey Assizes. "I don't expect I shall be down there," she said; "most certainly I shall not appear."

Trovehan, Lady White's house at Englefield Green, was burnt last March, and Suffragist literature and messages were found in the grounds.

Miss Brady was arrested on April 4 on another charge, of being found on premises, at Mitcham, with inflammable material. On April 12 she was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment; she hunger-struck and was forcibly fed, but was released on April 23 under the Cat and Mouse Act. Since then she was missing until re-arrested on January 15.

At the proceedings at Chertsey on Saturday evidence was given by the gardener of the house and by policemen as to the fire and the finding of Suffragist literature. It was also stated that two women with bicycles had travelled from Vauxhall to Staines on the day in question, and had been seen riding from the direction of the fire. Miss Brady had been identified at Holloway as one of the women who had been seen at Staines. The damage to the house was estimated at between £2,000 and £3,000.

NEWS OF PRISONERS

It was stated at the W.S.P.U. meeting at the Knightsbridge Hall on Monday that both Miss Rachel Peace and Miss Kitty Marion were being forcibly fed in Holloway. At first Miss Marion's screams during the operation could be heard all over the prison, but now she is so weak that nothing can be heard. Miss Peace is being fed twice a day, and is losing weight. It was also stated that there were new doctors at Holloway. Miss Peace has been in

prison since October 4, and on November 15 was sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour on a charge of firing a house. For a large part of her imprisonment she has been forcibly fed. Miss Marion was re-arrested on January 6.

Miss Brady is believed to be on hunger strike. She was re-arrested on January 15. Miss Ansell was re-arrested for a third time on January 19.

FORCIBLE FEEDING

The following resolution was passed unanimously on January 13 at a meeting of the League of the Kingdom:—

"This meeting demands the immediate cessation of the practice of forcible feeding as inhuman and futile, and strongly condemns the action of the Cabinet in trying to suppress the Women's Movement as unworthy of men and of Englishmen."

THE VIOLENCE OF THE POLICE

Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington's Case

Our readers will remember that on the occasion of Mr. Bonar Law's visit to Dublin last November, Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington was arrested and imprisoned for an alleged assault upon a constable, while her defence, that she merely handed him a leaflet and was really assaulted herself by the constable, was swept aside by the magistrate.

The *Irish Citizen* now prints an important piece of evidence in Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington's favour, in the form of a letter from Mr. Ronald McNeill, M.P., who saw the whole incident, but left Dublin immediately afterwards, and did not hear of her arrest until too late to be of any service to her. He relates in the letter that he was standing on the steps of Lord Iveagh's house just behind Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson, that he saw a lady step forward and "attempt to present some leaflets to Bonar Law, but they fell to the ground, either from her hand or his—I cannot be certain which."

No Assault or Violence of Any Kind

The letter goes on to say: "The leaders then entered the car, and I entered the car immediately following. I cannot, of course, say what may have occurred after I left the front door; but up to that moment I can positively assert that no sort of assault or violence of any kind was committed by the lady with the leaflets, or by anyone else in the small crowd there assembled. As there was no crushing and no excitement, and after the departure of the leaders no reason for any obstruction or demonstration of any sort, I find it difficult to believe that the perfect orderliness which prevailed as long as I saw what was going on, was succeeded by violence when the occasion of the small gathering in the street had passed."

It is to be hoped that Mr. McNeill will raise the question in the House on the re-assembling of Parliament, for it is clear that here is yet another instance of a false conviction following upon false police evidence.

THE CASE OF INSPECTOR POTTER

In his charge to the Grand Jury at the London Sessions, which opened at Clerkenwell last Tuesday, Mr. Wallace, K.O., referred to the case of Inspector Potter, committed on a charge of assaulting a Suffragist at Poplar last month (see last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*), and advised the jury to return a true bill so that the case might be thoroughly investigated, in the interests of both the police and the public.

A true bill was subsequently returned. The hearing is expected to come on this week.

PRESS COMMENTS

MR. McKENNA AND APES

From time to time things happen that make one boil with indignation, and force one to wonder whether we are much better than our ape ancestors. . . . And now a worse story still—this torturing of women according to law in English prisons, this forcible feeding. If the nation could realise the fact, if men had imagination enough to put themselves for one moment in the place of these women, Mr. McKenna would disappear from public life. It will be understood one day how he has shamed all of us. —*Modern Society*.

CHEAPER TO GIVE THEM THE VOTE!

Apart from the fire at Portsmouth Dockyard, on December 20, causing a loss of £250,000, which did not affect insurance offices, the outstanding feature of the home fire record was probably the number of the outbreaks caused by militant suffragists. The total cost of fires so attributed and causing damage of at least £1,000 has been estimated by us at £237,650; as, however, a number of fires were attributed to the militants which caused damage of less than £1,000, it may not unreasonably be estimated that the total cost of these outbreaks was about £250,000. In only one or two cases has the responsibility for these outbreaks been brought home to the militants. Generally the fire companies have paid the loss with little hope of recovery. —*Times (Financial Supplement)*.

HUMOURS OF THE MOVEMENT

QUITE A MATTER OF COURSE

The sleepyest of Norfolk villages was lately roused up by the visit of a theatrical party who had come to rehearse "The Invasion of England" for a cinematograph representation. For a whole day wild men from across the sea, in appropriate costumes and lurid make-up, struggled savagely with peaceful Britons. The High Street was a scene of pillage and violence while the film man quietly took his snapshots for the benefit of London.

An aged lady of the neighbourhood, driving in her carriage through the village, seeing what appeared to be the innkeeper dragged from his threshold to be murdered in the roadway, while amidst arrows and stones other men throttled and yelled, drew up in alarm. For a moment she looked terrified. Then all of a sudden her face cleared, and she nodded her head. "Ah, the Suffragettes, I suppose! Drive on, John."

IF ONLY ONE COULD KNOW THEM BY SIGHT!

"Very sorry, madam, but no ladies are admitted now," said the vergier of one of our most precious City churches, as he looked apologetically at the pleasant ladies and the two pretty children.

"But surely you will let the children in? They will be so disappointed."

"Oh, well, madam"—with another look—"you may all just peep in. In fact,"—with a reassured air—"you can go all over and take your time. I'm sure it's all right."

Half an hour later, as they were leaving the church, he whispered mysteriously, "You see, madam, it's only on account of them Suffragettes."

"Well, we're all Suffragettes," said one of the ladies. "And prisoners, too," added the little boy.

The vergier, looking as if he had a sudden heart attack, hurried off to search for bombs.

MRS. ASQUITH COURTS ARREST

Now that Downing Street is always more or less under a mild sort of martial law, it must be a little inconvenient for

those dwellers in the official street who, however much they may agree with the most official of them all that woman suffrage would be a "national calamity," carry nothing about them to show that they are not Suffragettes.

Rumour has it that not long ago Mrs. Asquith herself hailed a taxi, said "10, Downing Street" to the chauffeur, and stepped inside. To her astonishment, the man, instead of starting, descended from his seat, opened the door, and motioned to her with a knowing air to get out.

"Not if I know it," he remarked laconically; "you'll have to get another man for this here job, young woman."

DANCING FOR THE VOTE

The Actresses' Franchise League, that good friend of all other Suffrage societies, is for once going to arrange an entertainment for its own benefit, and on January 29, in the Empress Rooms, Kensington, a Tea Dance will be given under the auspices of the League, for which tickets are procurable from the offices of the A.F.L. (see



[Block kindly lent by "Daily News."]

THE ENFRANCHISED WAITER

Suffrage Directory, page 259). All sorts of gaiety will be provided, from the Tango to palmystry, to say nothing of tea, which will be served at tables presided over by all the well-known actresses of the day.

And hereby hangs a tale! For when the manager of the hall heard that women

were to carry tea trays (at least, so says the *Daily News*), he declared it to be impossible. Only a man waiter, he vowed, is capable of this feat. Women? Going



[Block kindly lent by "Daily News."]

THE VOTELESS ONE

to the polling booth is an amateur feat in comparison! What will be the outcome of this little difference of opinion over "Trays for Women," we shall only know when we visit the Empress Rooms next Thursday. Meanwhile, by the kindness of the *Daily News*, we are able to reproduce two delightful sketches, made by a member of the Actresses' Franchise League after her interview with the manager, which are imaginary pictures of what that gentleman evidently had in his mind when he thought of the expert waiter handing over his perfectly balanced tea tray to the lady who is—off the stage—only a very charming amateur.

WAS QUEEN MARY TAKEN FOR A SUFFRAGETTE?

One day last week the papers told a strange tale of Queen Mary's refusal to part with her umbrella when paying a visit incognito to the Norwich Museum. No doubt it seemed curious to her that, even as a member of the ordinary public, she

should be refused admittance to a public building with an umbrella in her hand. The custodian could clearly not be blamed for failing to discover anything in Her Majesty's appearance to show she was not a Suffragette. That was one of the genuine compliments that sometimes fall to the lot of Royalty when it pays a Haroun-al-raschid visit to the humbler quarters of the city.

SHOULD WOMEN WORK?

To reproach women for their invasion of industry suggests the attitude of a certain old farmer who is cited as "the meanest man." A wind storm picked up a neighbour's house and blew the whole family over on to his farm. Instead of offering them sympathy and help, he rushed off and got a lawyer to sue them for trespass.—"Woman's Journal."

THE WOMAN WHO WANTED TO VOTE

There once was a woman of note
Who very much wanted to vote;

Her neighbours said, "Here
You stay in your sphere;
Go home, and have babies to tote!"

She then formed a club literary,
Which studied child-life, civics and dairy;

They found out their right
To make the world bright,
And decent and home-like and cheery.

They studied of home and the nation,
And learned each to each the relation,

"We'll have better laws,"
Said these women, "because
We'll work for our country's salvation."

And now in ten States women vote—
On questions both near and remote;

"Our banner's unfurled,
And this sphere is the world,"
Says this wonderful woman of note.

Mrs. John B. Parkes, in the "Woman's Journal."

VOTES FOR WOMEN FELLOWSHIP

A Public Meeting will be held in
THE KINGSWAY HALL
Thursday, February 26th, at 8 p.m.

Chair: **MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE**

Speakers: **SIR HARRY JOHNSTON**
(The famous African Explorer)

Miss LENA ASHWELL

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and others.

TICKETS: Front Central Stalls and Balcony (numbered and reserved) 2s. 6d.; other Stalls and Balcony (numbered and reserved) 1s.; Unreserved Stalls or Balcony 6d. from the Ticket Secretary, "Votes for Women," 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assaulting a Woman

The *Stirling Sentinel* (January 6) reports case of a labourer charged at the Burgh Police Court, Stirling, with assaulting the wife of a miner in his lodging-house, raising her by the hair, throwing her on the floor, striking her on the face, and trampling on her body.

Sentence: Fined 7s. 6d., or five days' imprisonment.

Threatening a Wife

The *Pioneer* (Woolwich) of January 16 reports case of a greengrocer charged before Mr. Symmons at Woolwich Police Court with threatening to kill his wife with a knife. He came home one night, smashed everything in the kitchen, and so frightened her that she ran out of the house and dare not return.

Sentence: Bound over in £10. to keep the peace.

ONLY A PARENT WHEN IN THE WRONG

Another instance of the readiness of the Courts to consider the mother the responsible parent when she is in the wrong, though she has no legal rights over her own children, was afforded in a case heard before the Manchester city magistrates the other day. (See *Manchester Guardian*, January 16.) It was that of a married couple, summoned for neglecting their seven children to such an extent that they were found with no clothes on, while there was no bedding in the bedroom. The man was said to be a steady man and to have a good character. He was fined 20s. or a month's imprisonment. The woman was sent to prison for three months, without the option of a fine.

We are not in a position to apportion blame in this case of husband and wife, as we have no more facts at our disposal than are given in a meagre newspaper report. But we have a right to protest at this continual penalisation of the wife—in the very great majority of child neglect cases it is the wife who has the heavier sentence—by a legal system which declines to recognise her as a person in any other way. If, as we are continually assured by the "Antis," the father alone is responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of the home and family, why is the wife sent to prison when the home and family are neglected? If, on the other hand, the wife is held responsible when things go wrong in the home, why is she not considered by the State worthy of sharing with her husband the rights and privileges of being a parent?

MAGISTERIAL LECTURES TO WIVES

Although we are continually told of the honoured position held by the married woman in this country, we are often struck by the tone of patronage assumed by officials towards the wives and mothers who happen to come within their jurisdiction.

The Flippant

"Of course he is an unreasonable being, because he is a man," Mr. Symmons is reported to have said at Greenwich, last Saturday, to a wife who came before him with a complaint against her husband. "We are all unreasonable," he added, "but we can be coaxed."

We do not know if husbands like to be represented *en masse* from the magisterial Bench as a species of imbecile, behaving unreasonably in order to be coaxed back to sanity. But we do know that this kind of official flippancy is intolerable to a self-respecting woman, forced into Court by circumstances which have probably only made her reach the limit of her endurance after months of suffering. And no official would speak like that to a woman if women were really respected in the community.

The Oratorical

Then there is the oratorical manner. Addressing a poor mother at an inquest on her baby last Friday, the Shoreditch coroner, Dr. Wynn Westcott, is reported in the *Daily Mail* to have actually made the following speech:—

"Possibly, madam, you are very poor and possibly very ignorant, but seeing the child was continually wasting and did not thrive at all, you ought to have had a doctor for the last month. There was no excuse for you, for you live in London, where everybody knows everything, or think they do, and you could have had the parish doctor for nothing. You must be careful of your other children. An officer will call on you and give you some good advice on these matters."

HEAVY SENTENCES

Firing a Hayrick

The *Observer* (January 18) reports case of a weaver, charged at the Dorset Assizes last Saturday with setting fire to a hayrick near Weymouth.

Sentence: Five years' penal servitude.

Threatening a Mayor

The *Times* (January 16) reports case of a man cook, charged at the Central Criminal Court before Mr. Justice Bailhache with sending a letter to the Mayor of Chelsea, threatening to murder him and demanding £15 with menaces. The jury found him guilty, but mentally weak.

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude.

Even if the mother was to blame for her child's death, was this the moment to overwhelm her with a flood of pompous censure? Again, such a thing would not be possible in a country where women are really respected.

A CHASTLY "EPIDEMIC"

Miss Janie Allan writes in *Forward* (January 17):—

"In the last two Sheriff Courts held at Glasgow, in the cases heard before a jury, two out of three cases have been offences of a very serious nature against women and children, and in the last High Court there were five such cases out of a total of fifteen, which is a very large proportion. It is difficult to understand why the Crown accepts the plea of 'Attempt.' Whenever a counsel sees a case going against a prisoner who has pleaded 'not guilty' in the first instance, he gets him to plead guilty to attempt, and if this is accepted by the Crown, it very greatly lessens the punishment. It is a perfectly right course for the prisoner's counsel to adopt, but it leads to very inadequate sentences, and we see no reason why the Crown should so often accept the plea of 'attempt' when it is in many cases obvious that the prisoner is guilty of considerably more than attempt.

Stronger Measures Advocated

"Sheriff Lyell last week referred to the 'epidemic of such crimes' in Glasgow, and said it was becoming an 'intolerable scandal.' He thought the adoption of stronger measures in dealing with these cases should be considered, and whether such charges should not be dealt with in the High Court."

As long, however, as the disparity of sentences, shown in our weekly *Comparison of Punishments*, continues to characterise the law courts of this country, we fear this ghastly epidemic of crimes against women and children will not abate. Nothing but raising the status of woman by giving her the full right of citizenship, symbolised in the vote, will really go to the root of the matter.

WHAT TO DO WITH THE HABITUAL OFFENDER

Bailie Johnston, speaking in the Kirkintilloch Town Council on the annual report on crime in the burgh, said the present system of punishing the habitual offender was utterly wrong, and, in the case of a husband, simply punished his wife and children. He suggested the revival of the stocks, proposing that the man should be put to work during the day, so that his wage-earning powers were not impaired, and brought back to the stocks at night for so many hours.

In the State of Washington, where women vote, they have a similar and slightly more humane plan already in working. By the so-called *Lazy Husband Act* (its real name is as much a dead letter as that of the Cat and Mouse Act), the man who won't work is liable to a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding one year in length, during which he is forced to work on the roads in the daytime at a salary of \$1.50 a week, which is handed over to his wife once a month. It is claimed that this method of dealing with the husband who abandons or fails to support his belongings effects many reforms. It certainly reveals a practical, common-sense way of dealing with the problem which is not manifest where laws are made by men alone.

SUFFRAGE FIRST

ELECTOR'S PLEDGE

REALIZING that "votes for women" is the most urgent and vital reform of to-day and must take precedence of any further social legislation because—

- (a) Government can only securely rest on the consent of the governed.
- (b) The terrible conditions under which many women live and work make it essential that women should be recognised as citizens.
- (c) No legislation can be satisfactory so long as the House of Commons is only representative of men.

I undertake as a parliamentary elector that, unless women have been already enfranchised, in using my vote at the next election I will put woman suffrage first.

And, in the meanwhile, I will acquaint the candidates and their agents in my division of my intention, and will take all other steps in my power to press forward this reform.

Signature

Parliamentary Division

Address

WHAT TO DO AT ONCE

1. Write to the candidate of each of the political parties in the division and their agents informing them that you regard woman suffrage as the foremost political reform of the day, and that unless it be carried before the next election your vote will be dependent upon the attitude of the parties towards it.
2. Write to all members of Parliament with whom you are personally acquainted to the same effect.
3. If you voted Liberal at the last election write to Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, and the chief Liberal Whip, at the House of Commons, and tell them that though you voted for the Liberal candidate then, you are disgusted with the way the Government has dealt with the woman's question, and that you will use your vote at the next election in the interests of woman suffrage.
4. If you voted Labour at the last election write to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and to the chief Labour Whip to the same effect, and also to other members of the Labour Party.
5. If you voted Conservative, write to Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Walter Long, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and the chief Conser-

vative Whip, and tell them that you voted for the Conservative candidate then, but that you will not do so at the next election unless you are satisfied that it is in the interests of woman suffrage for you to do so.

6. Attend all political meetings in your constituency with the object of putting questions on the subject of votes for women.

7. Try to arrange for deputations to your member and to the candidates of the other political parties to urge upon them the necessity of a Government measure.

8. Write to the local papers whenever matters of current importance relating to woman suffrage arise, such, for instance, as speeches by Cabinet Ministers or leading members of the Opposition, replies by your local member or the candidates of the other parties in the division, the treatment of women in prison, &c., &c.

9. You can also render important service to the movement by standing up for it in the course of private conversation with your acquaintances, by explaining (whatever view you make take of revolutionary actions) that women have deep-seated grievances which have led to such actions, by supporting with your presence all suffrage meetings held in your vicinity, and by inducing other electors to sign this pledge.

The above pledge card is issued by the "Suffrage First" Committee, of which Mr. Pethick Lawrence is Honorary Secretary, and Mr. H. D. Harben Honorary Treasurer, and it can be obtained on application to the "Suffrage First" Committee Office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

RECEPTION OF FAMOUS AUTHORS

Arranged by the Women Writers' Suffrage League

Tuesday, Feb. 3 to 8 p.m., at Caxton Hall, Westminster.

Chair: Miss Lena Ashwell.

Among the authors reading their own works will be

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel | Mr. W. L. George
Miss Elizabeth Robins | Mr. Henry Newman
Miss Evelyn Sharp | and many others.

Autograph books will be auctioned. Cakes for tea will be made by Mrs. Steel and other women writers. Tickets 2s. and 1s. each, to be obtained from the W.W.S.L., 12, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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Usual price 10/11

Sale price **6/11**

POLITICAL POSITION ON THE CONTINENT

Debate in the German Reichstag—Government Bill in Sweden

IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

Academic Discussion of a Woman Suffrage Petition

As we announced in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, a Woman Suffrage petition was discussed in the German Reichstag on January 13, and finally referred to the Chancellor "for his consideration," but not with a view to any action being taken upon it. In German Parliamentary language, this form of procedure is described as bringing a petition "to the cognizance of the Government," and is, of course, merely a way of shelving the matter. The discussion in the Reichstag was, however, an advance in the Parliamentary position of Woman Suffrage in Germany, for when a similar petition was presented in 1908, it was merely passed over without comment.

The debate of last Tuesday week was the result of a compromise between the demand of the Socialists that further action should be taken with regard to the petition and that the whole subject should be seriously considered, and the opposition demand of the Conservatives and National Liberals that the petition should not be even discussed. An academic debate was the result, of which we give a summary below. It will be seen that some of the remarks made recall the reactionary flavour of our own House of Commons of eight years ago. But it is deeply interesting to English militants to read how their agitation is serving as a warning to some of the more statesmanlike among German politicians.

THE DEBATE

Herr Schwarz (Zentr): said the decision of the Committee was a happy choice of a middle road. "We must meet the women to some extent as regards their wishes, otherwise we run the risk of creating an irritation that might finally bring about the same sort of situation as they now have in England."

Dr. Cohn (Soc.): The decision of the Committee was distinctly a step forward. The petition, at any rate, was no longer thrown into the large wastepaper basket, even if it went into the small one. They of his party desired to see all men and women over twenty-one enfranchised. They realised, however, that when the end of the petition had been attained, a great step on the road towards the complete realisation of their desires would have been accomplished. The position of women in society had altered considerably, and the increased labour of women must bring into it an increase of independent self-control. Yet we have gentlemen in this House who maintain that the franchise will "destroy

the bloom of the feminine soul." What about the "bloom" of those who work in mines and in the industrial world? It is no business of ours to criticize the methods of the English Suffragettes; we must leave it to them to choose the means which they think are most suitable. In England success on the political battlefield is not achieved without forcible methods.

If women were driven out into the struggle for existence they must be granted corresponding rights wherewith to protect themselves. The fact that in this country women had at present no promise of the franchise showed how backward Germany was. If the Conservatives desired to avoid an unconstitutionality, let them arrange for the grant of the franchise by way of a Government measure. (Laughter.)

Dr. Bell (Zentr): "We rejoice in the fact that women are taking a much wider interest than formerly in public life, but it does not necessarily follow that we are prepared to give them the vote." German womanhood was already permitted to exercise a wide influence in public life. He was thinking particularly now of their work in the sphere of caring for the poor and the fatherless, in the nursing world, and in the case of infants. In these spheres women had had great success. Deeds of violence, however, such as they had seen committed by the Suffragists in England, encouraged and excused by their supporters, they would have none of here. Lately in Berlin, during the Congress of the "Bundes für Mutterschutz," expressions were used that must have deeply offended the modesty of German women. They could not support the grant of the franchise, but they had the liveliest sympathy for every healthy aspiration of the Woman's Movement, and they therefore approved the Committee's proposal to discuss the matter.

Herr von Grafe (Kon.): The majority of German women did not want the vote. "We are delighted when our womankind take an interest in our doings here." It was important, in view of agitations engineered by the Press, that they should know the truth about facts; they had no wish to be reactionary in this respect, but it did not follow that they approved of giving them the vote.

Dr. Haas (Fortschritt): They in their Party, as well as the Labour Party and other organisations, were not at all of one mind on the question of the franchise for women. Neither was it any argument that women were not all united on the question of the kind of franchise they desired. They, like men, still disputed as to what was the best form of franchise to adopt. He thought then that they ought to support woman suffrage.

Dr. Arendt (Sp.): Our whole political conditions would be turned upside down by woman suffrage. The majority of women would not say "Thank you" for it. The time was not yet ripe for serious consideration of this subject. Women must first become more proficient in cultured and social departments, especially that of municipal government.

The petition was then brought to the "cognizance of the Government."

* Society for the Protection of Motherhood.

GERMAN WOMEN AND FINANCE

"Women's Capital"

The women of Berlin are starting a woman's financial paper called *Women's Capital*. It is to be edited by women, and will be almost entirely written by women. It will be a weekly paper, price 10 pfennigs, one penny. The principle motives of the new publication will be, firstly, as an advertisement for the woman's bank, the *Frauenbank*, whose official organ it will be; and secondly, to provide women in general with expert advice in the management of their own affairs.

Frauenbank

The woman's bank itself has been in existence for four years, and has proved itself to be a great success. Its directors are women, and in its staff of fifty only a dozen are men. It is found necessary to employ men as stockbrokers, for up to the present women are not allowed to be members of the Berlin Bourse. The *Frauenbank* has a far larger range of activities than the ordinary English bank, for it acts as friend and adviser in all that concerns the lives of its members, legally and financially. While its basis is, of course, the deposit department, it has in addition departments for loans, mortgages, stock exchange and trustee business, the management of estates, and legal advice. In addition to larger loans, mortgages, and bonds, the bank lends quite small amounts against such guarantees as furniture, to enable its members to tide over bad times without falling into the hands of money-lenders. As a legal adviser the bank is of great assistance, especially in the case of widows who are left suddenly with the administration of property in their hands.

At a luncheon given the other day by the bank, a Doctor of Law, Frau Marie Raschke, predicted a great future for it, and said that women in other countries would follow their example, and that finally an international federation of women's banks would be formed.

IN SWEDEN

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE KING'S SPEECH

The introduction of a Government Bill to enfranchise women was announced by the King of Sweden in his speech at the opening of the Riksdag (Parliament) last Friday. The *Times* correspondent writes that "Referring to woman suffrage, the Speech states that both justice and the welfare of the State now demand that the rights of political citizenship be extended to women."

In Sweden women already possess the communal, school board, and ecclesiastical franchise on the same terms as men, and are eligible for election to all local boards and councils except the Landsting, which is elected by the Communal Council.

FORMER SUFFRAGE BILLS

The first Bill to give women the suffrage was introduced into the Riksdag as long ago as 1884 by a private member. In 1902 a Bill was brought forward to induce the Government to make a thorough investigation of the Woman Suffrage question; this Bill was defeated in the Lower House

and so was not debated in the Upper. Since then a private member's Bill has been introduced nearly every year, and on two occasions as many as four Bills in one year. They have sometimes been defeated in the Lower House, though more often passed; but they were always defeated in the Upper House, generally being thrown out without being either debated or put to the vote.

A Government Measure in 1908

By 1908 Woman Suffrage had been included in the official programme of both the Liberal and Labour Parties, though the Conservatives were still very much opposed to it, and in that year the first Woman Suffrage Government Bill was introduced by the Liberals; it passed the Lower House by 110 to 93, but was rejected in the Upper House without debate. In the same year almost universal manhood suffrage was granted to men over the age of twenty-four, and the King received a deputation from the National Union for Woman Suffrage and told them of his personal sympathy with their cause.

At the end of 1911 the Liberal Party again came into power, and Woman Suffrage was mentioned in the King's Speech. A Government measure was introduced in 1912, passed the Lower House by 140 votes to 66, and was rejected in the Upper by 86 votes to 58.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

With regard to this year's Woman Suffrage Bill, the probability is that it will pass the Lower House, but it is not sure of success in the Upper. The Upper House consists of 150 members, who are elected by the Landstings and by the town councils of Stockholm, and four other towns. One-sixth of the members are elected every September, and sit for six years. It is on the communal franchise that the Landstings are elected, and since the women have the communal franchise, they are bound in time to get their majority in the Upper House.

The Suffragists are themselves very active in Sweden, as can be realised by the fact that in 1907 they obtained 142,128 signatures to a petition, which is a large proportion in a country whose total population is 5,561,799. The Suffragists take part vigorously in all elections, supporting the Liberal Party and opposing the Conservatives.

Future Prospects

If the Woman Suffrage Bill is defeated this year, matters will have to remain as they are till after the next General Election, which will take place in about two years' time.

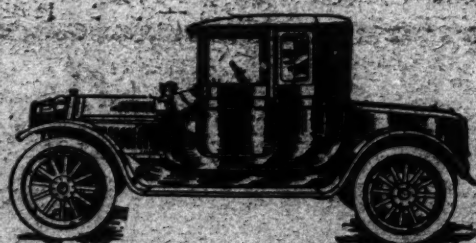
IN NORWAY

IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Woman Appointed in Suffrage Country

In Norway, where women hold an equal status with men because both are enfranchised, the first appointment of a woman in the Diplomatic Service has just been made. Miss Henrietta Hoegh has been offered, and has accepted, the post of First Secretary of Legation at the Norwegian Legation in Mexico—by no means an easy appointment, one would imagine, in the present disturbed condition of that country. She passed all the necessary examinations in international law and political economy two years ago. We congratulate our Norwegian sister on this breaking new ground for women in a service for which they should be particularly well qualified.

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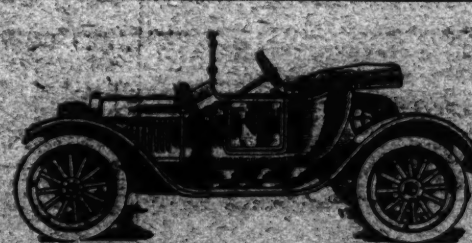
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THE PEOPLE'S FOOD

Writing on "Pure Food and the Public Health" in the *British Food Journal* (December), Sir Philip Sassoon says:—

"The existing state of the law is extremely complicated and equally unsatisfactory. The powers given for the prevention of the sale of adulterated or unwholesome articles are often very difficult to enforce, and in many cases the standards of purity set up are open to question."

Legislative Reform Alone Effective

Speaking of the efforts made by the Pure Food and Health Society, the writer goes on to say: "It was recognised at an early stage that, however much might be accomplished by private action, public legislation alone could complete the work the Society has courageously begun."

That, of course, is indisputable, and proves afresh the loss sustained by the nation in the exclusion from politics of the driving force of the woman's vote.

ADULTERATION CASES

Oil in Dripping

The *British Food Journal* (December) gives an account of a case at the Falkirk Police Court, in which a manager was summoned for having sold as dripping a substance containing 40 per cent. of cottonseed oil. The Sheriff found the charge proven and imposed a fine of £3, which seems to us an inadequate penalty for an offence which rendered unfit for consumption an article largely used among the poor as a substitute for butter, not merely, as in wealthier households, for cooking purposes.

Margarine as Butter

The same journal reports the case of a grocer summoned at Burton-on-Trent Police Court for selling margarine as butter. The magistrates fined him £2 and 13s. 6d. costs.

At the same Court a woman was summoned, also for selling margarine as butter. The fine in her case was the same as in the man's—£2; but for some reason not given in the report her costs were 14s. 6d.—a shilling more than the man's.

Does it cost more to summon and convict a woman than to summon and convict a man? Or is this only the case when the costs are to be paid out of the woman's pocket?

DOES A BOY SUPPORT A WIFE & FAMILY?

The West Riding Education Committee, in extending their scheme of scholarships in secondary schools, have made a most unwarrantable distinction between boys and girls in apportioning to both their maintenance allowances.

These are to be as follows:—

First year: 13-14, boys £6, girls £4.

Second year: 14-15, boys £6, girls £4.

Third year: 15-16, boys £8, girls £6.

Why This Difference?

Nothing but the prevailing idea that women are worth less than men as human beings can possibly account for this preposterous difference in the maintenance allowances made to boys and girls respectively. Well may the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* comment as follows:—

"The most objectionable feature in the scheme is the difference made between girls and boys. Boys in all stages are to receive £2 a year more than girls. We do not know why this should be. It cannot be on the score of expense. It costs more to clothe girls than it does boys; and it ought not to cost less to feed them. Perhaps the Education Committee is acting on the assumption that there will be more girls than boys as candidates, and that therefore they stand to gain by offering them the lower grant. We protest against the arrangement as mean and unfair."

WOMEN ARMED FOR REVOLT

Ready to Fight if Necessary

At a meeting held recently by the Anglo-Hellenic League at Morley Hall, Hanover Square, Colonel A. Mordant Murray, C.B., M.O.V., gave some interesting particulars of the women of Epirus who are preparing, just as the men are, to fight against being transferred from Greek rule.

Union or Death

Colonel Murray, who has recently spent three months in Epirus, showed lantern slides depicting bands of women of Koritz armed with rifles and cartridge belts. It was in the same town that the women and girls paraded before the International Commissioners (who were sent there), displaying the device, "Enosis i Thanatos"—"Union or Death."

Another picture showed Major Spirimilos (who commands the district of Himara, which is considered the post of greatest danger), with his two aides-de-camp, armed, one of them a woman who was wounded in action last year. The same commander declares that he can put into the field a fighting force of 5,000 men and 1,400 women.

Women Cannot Fight?

In addition to the fact that women in the home have to bear at least an equal share with men of the sufferings caused by war, it appears from the above account that women can, if called upon, take the same part in war as that commonly appropriated by men. What becomes then of the argument that women have no right to a vote because they cannot fight?

ARE MEN LESS HONEST THAN WOMEN?

According to Mr. Thomas Holmes, secretary of the Howard Association, the answer to the above question is in the affirmative. The following remarkable statement appears in an article by him, appended to his annual report just issued:—

"Dishonesty among the young people of Great Britain," he says, "is growing; or, rather, among young men, for year after year the official criminal statistics bear testimony to the increased dishonesty of women. For many years past an increasing number of young women have entered into commercial and industrial life, and have been exposed to the same conditions as those to which men are submitted. Yet in spite of this, and notwithstanding the fact that the female population outnumbers the male by 1½ millions, the number of women detained in prison is only one-sixth the number of men."

"Lurid statements are made by ill-advised, ill-informed, if well-meaning, people as to the decay of womanhood and the increased drunkenness and dishonesty of the women in England. But such statements cannot be proved, and official figures show that the reverse is the fact."

"These are the London figures: Four prisons for men, daily average, 4,800; one prison for women, daily average, 800."

"And of the 800 many are of a typical class. Thus the honesty and sobriety of women is established beyond dispute."

WHY SIR J. FORBES-ROBERTSON IS A MILITANT

According to the *Woman's Journal*, Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson has come out recently with an article entitled "Why I am a Militant Suffragist." He compares the spirit of the militants to that of the Christian martyrs. "While I do not like the extreme measure of destruction of property, and should draw the line there," he says, "I believe that militancy must be. I believe the militant spirit serves a good end. I know most of the militants personally, and know every one of them to be good wives, good mothers, and good future citizenesses. The United States has no need of militancy. Suffrage is marching on in the United States, and the American Press is fair-minded, and announces it. In England the Press is not fair-minded, nor even honest. When the great victory was won, the passage of suffrage in Illinois, a great State including the second city in the United States, not one paper in London published it. Deliberately they suppressed news of tremendous import. Worse than that, they lie about any news with a suffrage import."

AMERICAN CONGRATULATIONS

The *Woman's Journal* (Boston), after speaking of the recent seventh birthday of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* and of the dinner given to its literary contributors, goes on to say:—

"The *Woman's Journal* is the oldest suffrage paper now published in the world. Next week it will enter upon its forty-fifth year. It has brought out 2,288 weekly issues, and it has never missed a single week since its beginning in January, 1870. The *Woman's Journal* congratulates *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and all its lively brood of younger sisters in the broad field of suffrage journalism. Once it marched alone; now a whole procession of suffrage papers are marching with it, in many lands and many languages; and all are marching on to victory."

MISS MARION C. KENNEDY

Educationalist and Rebel Liberal

In Miss Marion Grace Kennedy, who we regret to learn, died at Torquay last Sunday week, the woman's movement had lost a real supporter. Besides being in the forefront of the agitation to open the Universities to women—she was one of the founders of Newnham, and was always closely connected with the College—Miss Kennedy was a strong Liberal, and took her Liberalism seriously. Suffragists will remember her most warmly as one of the group of women who seceded last year from the Cambridge Women's Liberal Association, of which she was a prominent member, as a protest against the treatment of the suffrage question by the present Government.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MEMBERSHIP CARD*

Various Forms of Service Open to Members

- 1.—To take *VOTES FOR WOMEN* each week and read it;
- 2.—To circulate *VOTES FOR WOMEN* among friends;
- 3.—To sell *VOTES FOR WOMEN* in the streets or by house-to-house canvass;
- 4.—To obtain new subscriptions for three or six months to the paper;
- 5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*;
- 6.—To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* posters;
- 7.—To secure new members for the *VOTES FOR WOMEN* Fellowship;
- 8.—To contribute to the *VOTES FOR WOMEN* Fellowship Fund, for various purposes, including the upkeep of the paper;
- 9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation. To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution.

stitution and to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organization, so *VOTES FOR WOMEN* does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. As a paper independent of all Suffrage societies, it addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement, and appeals to every class and section of the community. Its wide circulation must result in more recruits for the various battalions of the Suffrage army and a greater demand of the official publications of the great militant and non-militant Unions.

The Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name.....

(Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Miss, etc.)

Full Address.....

*The above, in the form of a four-page card, will be sent to any reader of "Votes for Women" on application to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

"DAILY HERALD" SUFFRAGE WEEK

The "DAILY HERALD" will devote the first week in February to a strong "VOTES FOR WOMEN" Campaign. The questions, "What Ought the Government to Do?" and "What Can They be Compelled to Do?" will be asked in the following series of important articles:—

- MONDAY, Feb. 2nd.**—"Review of Past Year and Position at Moment." By "D.H." Special Commissioner.
- TUESDAY, Feb. 3rd.**—"What Men Think." Brief articles by Laurence Housman, H.D. Harben, F.W. Pethick Lawrence, Sir Edward Bask, and Israel Zangwill.
- WEDNESDAY, Feb. 4th.**—"Militancy and How It Can be Stopped." By "D.H." Special Commissioner.
- THURSDAY, Feb. 5th.**—"Special Article by Suffragette Leader."
- FRIDAY, Feb. 6th.**—"Article by 'D.H.' Special Commissioner."
- SATURDAY, Feb. 7th.**—"What Women Think." Brief articles by Mrs. Depard, Miss Gaily Hamilton, Miss Beatrice Harraden and others.
- SUNDAY, Feb. 8th.**—"Concluding articles by GEORGE HANSBURY and John Scurr."

February 2nd to February 9th

Chapter 9

The Quickest Way to Wear Out Clothes

Suppose you always wore your clothes as roughly as you rub them on a wash-day.

How long would they last?

Fels-Naptha does away with most of the rubbing and the scrubbing brush—the naptha takes its place.

It saves the hard work—it saves the wear on clothes.

Even if you don't mind the work—the linen-saving is worth the trial of Fels-Naptha.

Fels-Naptha 49 Wilson street London E.C.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

Members of the League gave an excellent programme at a concert for the Irish League on January 10, at the Four Provinces Club, John Street. The performers were Misses Mignon Clifford, Ada Moore, Victoria Drummond, Flora Hooghewinkel, Kathleen McDonnell, and Iris Rowe. Miss Ines Bensusan and Mr. Geoffrey Goodhart also gave an extract from Olive Schreiner's "Story of an African Farm" as a duologue.

The first "Speakers' Class" was held on Friday, and seven promising maiden speeches were made by members. The next class is on Friday, January 23, at 5.15, at the office of the League, and many more members are wanted to attend. We ought to be able to produce speakers enough to keep the Hyde Park meetings in the summer going without assistance from other leagues.

Tickets for the Tea Dance at the Empress Rooms on January 29 should be bought at once, to avoid the rush at the last. The entertainments promise to be specially good. In addition to the attractions already announced, Miss Bensusan has promised to exhibit her political "Punch and Judy," the humour of which will be remembered by visitors to the "Summer Festival" at the Empress Rooms in June.

COMING EVENTS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Rev. Leigh Orton will speak at a meeting of the Manchester W.S.P.U. at the Milton Hall on January 29, at 7.30 p.m. Chair: Miss Edith Drummond.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Royal Holloway College, for the R.H.C. Suffrage Society, at Englefield Green, on January 29, at 8 p.m.

At the Suffrage Club to-day (Friday) at 8.30 p.m., Miss Amy Hicks will speak on "The Women's Movement in Ancient Athens." Chair: Mrs. Saul Solomon. On January 27, at 8.30 p.m., Mrs. Arthur Marshall will be the speaker; chair: Mrs. Willock.

The New Constitutional Society will hold a meeting at the N.C.S. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, on January 27, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Dr. F. E. Willey and Baroness de Knor. The Society is starting a series of evenings, to be held at the N.C.S. Hall on the first Monday in the month, at 8.30 p.m. The meetings will commence on February 2. Speakers: Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss McGowan, and Mr. Malcolm Mitchell.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall on January 28, at 3.30 p.m. Speaker: Surgeon General Evatt, C.B.

At the International Women's Franchise Club on January 28, Miss Harriet Newcomb will lecture at 4.30 p.m.

There will be a VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship meeting at the Kingsway Hall on February 26, at 8 p.m. (See page 255.)

CONVENTION OF ELECTIONS FROM THE NORTH

We are asked to announce that the Convention to be held by the Northern Men's Federation on the afternoon of February 14, will take place in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, not, as previously announced, in the Essex Hall, where the platform has been found insufficient to accommodate the men's delegates from the North. Admission will be free, though a few reserved seats at 2s. 6d. may be obtained from the Actresses' Franchise League and from the Secretary to the Convention, G. Wellington Road, N.W.

"A RECEPTION OF FAMOUS WRITERS"

The above is the name given to a Suffrage reception arranged by the Women Writers' Suffrage League, to take place in the Caxton Hall on Tuesday, February 3, from 3 till 6 o'clock. The great attraction will be the presence of many well-known men and women writers, who will read short extracts from their own writings; while others have given autographed copies of books which will be sold by auction by Mr. James Welch. Miss Lena Ashwell is to take the chair, and Lady Blake will act as hostess.

Among those who have promised their services are Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, Beatrice Harraden, Cicely Hamilton, George Paston, Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, Miss Sally Macdonald, Mrs. Margaret Woods, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. John Galsworthy, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. E. V. Lucas, Mr. George A. Birmingham, Mr. W. L. George, Mr. Eden Philpotts, and many others.

To show the domestic side of a woman writer's life—even when she wants a vote—the cakes to be eaten at the tea that follows will all be home made, and of a strong literary flavour.

Tickets (2s. and 1s.) and all further particulars from the Hon. Sec., W.W.S.L. (see Suffrage Directory).

A WOMAN'S TAILOR

Mr. Hall, 5, Prince's Street, Cavendish Square, W., is one of the best women's

tailors in the West End. He has lately opened premises in Prince's Street until he is able to secure a more prominent shop. He only uses the best materials, and employs the highest class tailors. If our readers wish a new spring dress, we recommend them to go as soon as possible and order it from Mr. Hall, as so much more individual attention can be given to each order at this time of the year than a little later, when everyone is wanting new clothes. Prince's Street is close to Oxford-Circus, and is only a minute's walk from the tube or bus.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

- Actresses' Franchise League.**
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Artists' Suffrage League.**
229, King's Road, S.W.
- Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association.**
Co. International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.**
55, Barnes Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage.**
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society.**
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.**
43, Dover Street, W.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies.**
14 St. James' Street, S.W.
- Forward Olympic Suffrage Union.**
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.**
2, Holmby View, Upper Clapton.
- Friends' League for Women's Suffrage.**
Walden, Gloucester.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society.**
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Suffrage Show.**
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Suffrage Alliance.**
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Franchise Club.**
9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irish League for Women's Suffrage.**
The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 15, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League.**
Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League.**
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.**
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation.**
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society.**
27, Donegal Place, Belfast.
- Jewish League for Women's Suffrage.**
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- League of Justice.**
22, South Molton Street, W.
- London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage.**
Chester Gate, Ealing.
- Marchers' Qui Vive Corps.**
Dunston, Petworth, Sussex.
- Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.**
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
- Men's League for Women's Suffrage.**
135, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Suffrage.**
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights.**
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.
- Monarch Women's Franchise League.**
13, Grand Parade, Cork.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society.**
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political League.**
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.**
13, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage.**
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.**
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- People's Suffrage Federation.**
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
- Scottish Churches League for Women's Suffrage.**
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage.**
2 St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
- Spiritual Militancy League.**
46, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.
- Suffrage Atelier.**
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlike Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club.**
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
- "Suffrage's First" Committee.**
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee.**
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
- United Nations Women's Suffrage Societies.**
13, Brown's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
- Votes for Women Fellowship.**
17, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Women's Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society.**
35, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Women's Freedom League.**
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom.**
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
- Women's Social and Political Union.**
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
- Women's Tax Resistance League.**
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union.**
27, Martine Road, Lee, S.E.
- Women Writers' Suffrage League.**
Gordon Buildings, Hatfield Street, W.C.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE GOVERNMENT AND INTIMIDATION

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Dear Editors.—We hear pretty well nowadays about the above subject, and we are told that the militant tactics of a section of the Suffrage party will not cause the Government to yield to intimidation. Moreover, there appears to go along with this the idea—whether uttered or not—that a Government never has yielded to intimidation.

Yet, taking the record of the present Administration only, what about the railway and the coal strikes? The Government stepped in when matters became serious and effected settlements—in the case of the coal strike they passed a Bill through Parliament, which had the effect of making a settlement.

Then, what about the question of armaments? Is, or is not, the Government yielding to intimidation? It looks very much as though they were, or why else should they contravene the spirit and policy of the Liberal Party? It appears as though they were accustomed to take notice of the pressure put on them.

The only conclusion possible is, that if the present agitators were men, with votes behind them, they would be listened to with some show of interest. The vote does carry weight.—Yours, &c.,
DOROTHY BIRKS WARD
(Member VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship).
Woodhouse, Sheffield.

THE CRY OF THE CHILDREN

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Dear Editors.—May we call your attention to the mockery of the laws in regard to young girls? A child of fourteen, seduced six months and four days ago, has been prematurely confined in the Ashford Workhouse, and is now dying. The offender is known, and cannot be punished, as the time limit has expired under the Children Act, which ensures the immunity of offenders. The Poor Law Guardians are powerless. Mr. McKenna has just acknowledged the letter, pointing out the conditions. To those men and women who have influence to bring this matter before Parliament we appeal. It is these shameful laws we can bring before our opponents. The cry of the children speaks.—Yours, &c.,
FLORA and HUGO AMES.
Dickens Cottage, York Gate, Broadstairs.

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Four Special Remnant Bundles.
Real Irish Linen in bundles of splendid remnants, that is what you get in any one or all of these four extraordinary Bundles:
Remnant Bundles of Snow White Pillow Cases, sufficient to make 6 full-sized Pillow Cases, 6s. per bundle. Postage 5d.
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Remnant Bundles of Snow White Art. Linen for Drawn Thread Work, Tray Cloths, and Afternoon Tea Cloths, 5s. per bundle. Postage 5d.
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All our white remnant bundles for 12s. Most useful if not satisfactory. Fascinating catalogue free. Send for your bargain bundle as once. They're sure to go quickly.

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LADIES who wish to take up a really well-paid profession should study Swedish Massage, Medical Electricity, or Remedial Exercises. The work is both remunerative and interesting, and is such as would appeal to most ladies who feel they wish to be doing some good in the world or who are dissatisfied with present poorly paid positions. The Harley Institute is the largest and most up-to-date school in London, and thorough knowledge of the subjects taught can be acquired in a few months. The fee for complete training varies according to the number of subjects taken up, and certificates are signed by two qualified medical men.

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address: The Advertisement Manager, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES.

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, W. — January 25, at 11, Closely Hamilton, "The Price of Freedom." 7, R. O. Prowse, "The Ethical Aspect of Modern Drama."

ST. MARY-AT-HILL, Church Army, Church, Eastcheap, Sundays, 9 and 11, views, orchestra, band, Prebendary Carlisle.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE — Tuesday, January 27, 3 p.m., in the New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade. "Women and Public Work from a Physiological Point of View," Dr. F. E. Willey, Baroness de Knoop.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings at Carlton Hall every Wednesday afternoon at 3.30. Speakers: January 23, Surgeon-General Ewatt, C.B. Subject: "The Life and Work of Florence Nightingale and Others." Admission free.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton Street, W. — Subscription, one guinea. Wednesday, January 23, 3.30, Club Tea; Lecture, 4.30, Miss Harriet Newcomb.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE — Monday, February 2, 8.30 p.m., in the New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Miss McGowan, Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, cleanest, cosiest quarters; en-suite bedrooms, with bath and water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions. — Manageress, 4788 Gerrard.

BRIGHTON — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s. — Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE — "Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, less, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Kay (W.S.P.U.).

LONDON, W.C. — 113, Gower Street. Refined home; breakfast, dinner, and full board Sunday; cubicle, 15s. 8d.; rooms, 18s. 6d. to 25s.; gentlemen, 19s. 6d.; bed and breakfast, 3s.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d. — Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies — Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day. — Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

WEST HEATH HOTEL, 1 and 2, Lyndale, Hampstead (near Platts Lane). Designed to give freedom and comfort to workers or visitors to London. Lovely garden, quiet, and very healthy. Terms from 21s. to 23s. weekly. Telephone, 5497 Hampstead. Apply, Mrs. Errol Boyd.

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FLAT, FURNISHED, in good private house. Sitting-room, 17 by 16, two bedrooms, fitted kitchen, use of bathroom and large garden. — Parley, 12, Dalmeny Avenue, Camden Road, N.

LARGE ROOM to let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided. — Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

TWO of three unfurnished rooms (could divide) in Lady's Flat; 5 minutes Belsize Station; electric, gas, bath, every convenience. Write—1, Belsize Park Gardens.

BOOKS

"A MODERN MOUSME" — Mrs. Hugo Ames's playlet on the marriage question. Leah Bateman Hunter's matinee, January 26, 27, 2.30. — Arts Centre, 93, Mortimer Street, Langham Place. The play, produced two years ago, was pronounced "A finished piece of art, both tragic in intensity, piercing in its sarcasm," vide Sunday papers, "Referee," &c.

64-PAGE BOOK about HERBS and HOW TO USE THEM, free. Send for one. — Trimmell, The Herbalist, 144, Richmond Road, Cardiff. Established 1878.

WHAT is "Everybody's Business"? "The Vote," by Hugo Ames, B.A. New pamphlet, in a dozen, suffrage workers, 13s. 6d. — The Dickens' Cottage, Broadstairs.

EDUCATIONAL

DA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a speciality. — 106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End Studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

LINDUM HOUSE, BEXHILL-ON-SEA. Boarding School for Girls on Progressive Thought lines. Principal, Miss Richardson, B.A. The school stands in its own grounds, where tennis, hockey, and cricket are played. Home care. Thorough tuition. Entire charge of children coming from abroad.

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